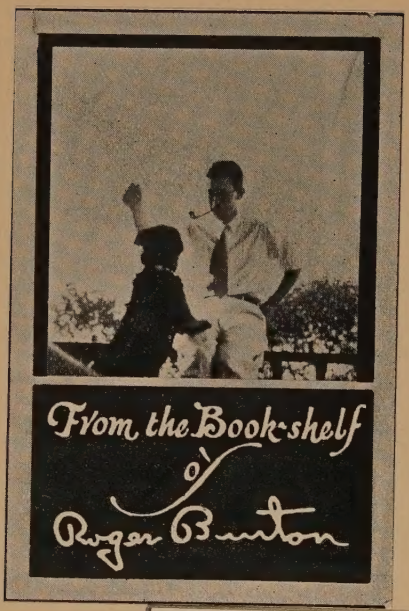
Charles W. Eliot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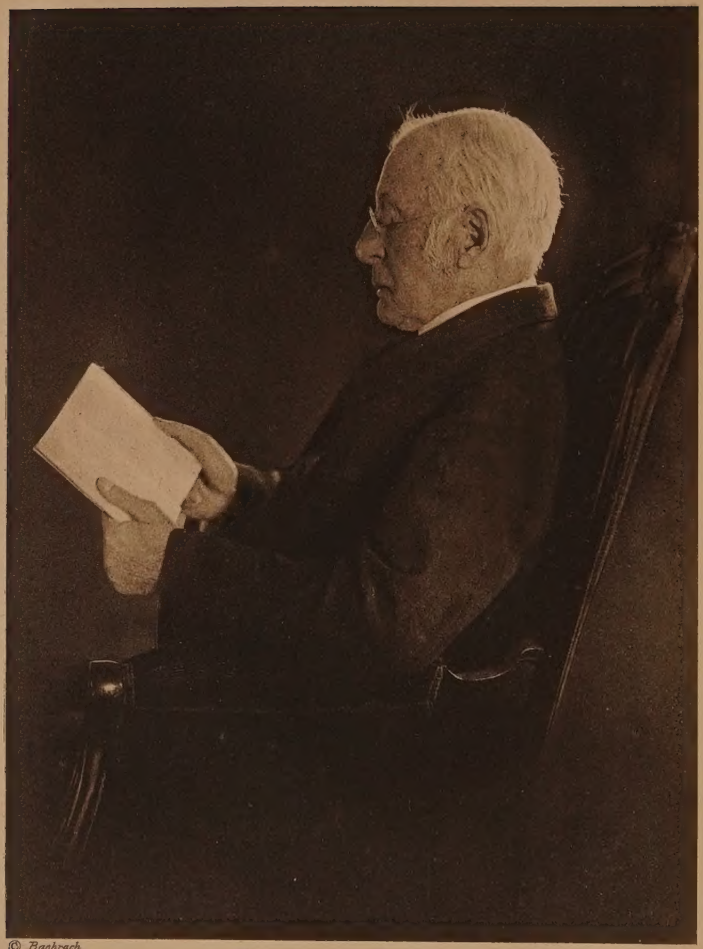

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Charles W. Eliot

7 Dec. 23

A LATE HARVEST

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS
WRITTEN BETWEEN
EIGHTY AND NINETY

BY

CHARLES W. ELIOT

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY PRESS
BOSTON

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INTRODUCTION

At the forefront of this book it should be said that the thought of bringing together the papers here assembled had its origin entirely with the publishers. As the ninetieth anniversary of the birth of President Eliot — March 20, 1924 — was drawing near, it was suggested to him that many of his friends and admirers, in other words a large portion of the American public, would welcome, as a *Festschrift* of conspicuous value and fitness, a volume containing typical products of his extraordinary vigor of mind and body through the years between eighty and ninety. To this project he gave his consent. It has been fulfilled without further consultation with him; and these words of introduction are printed without his having seen them.

The editor of the volume found himself immediately face to face with an embarrassment of riches. The course of least resistance would have been to make two or three volumes instead of one. Since many eliminations from an amazingly large mass of material were inevitable, it seemed best to select for illustration a group of topics — finally fixed at eight in number — under each of which one or more papers of special significance should be presented. Fortune was kind in offering for the opening paper an article, "How I Have Kept My Health and Working Power till Eighty," published in the first year of President Eliot's ninth decade. The remainder of the book could then be devoted to suggesting what he has done with his health and working power since eighty. The papers classified as "Biographical and Reminiscent" fill the second division of the book, closely related to the first because in the very nature of reminiscence there is an element of autobiography. With that division, however,

President Eliot's contemplation of the past may be said to end. The greater proportion of space allotted to questions still in process of solution requires no justification, for in this latest decade, as always heretofore, President Eliot has been far more concerned with the future than with the past.

The observant reader will detect in the table of contents the omission of papers relating directly to the World War, a subject to which many pages might have been devoted. There are two reasons for this: the first, that in 1915 President Eliot published a volume, *The Road towards Peace: a Contribution to the Study of the Causes of the European War and the Means of Preventing War in the Future*, an accessible book embodying many of the views on which his thinking throughout the war was based; the second, that, in the necessary processes of elimination, it appeared advisable to drop first the papers written for an immediate and strictly contemporaneous purpose. A glance at the bibliography printed at the end of this volume will indicate the extent of President Eliot's contribution to the paramount topic in the thought of the world from 1914 to 1918. The titles of his many wartime papers suggest, quite characteristically, where he stood on the subjects with which they dealt.

Of the bibliography a further word should be said. The purpose of this volume would stand but inadequately realized without it. The selections chosen for the body of the book speak for themselves. They cannot speak for the mass from which they are drawn, and it is in the range and scope of that mass that a unique phenomenon of individual production appears. Nor does the bibliography tell the entire story. It does not record the reports of many speeches prepared for special occasions, many brief letters to the public press, many inscriptions for memorial tablets, representing a type of difficult composition in which President Eliot has long been acknowledged a master. Its record of available printed sources is nevertheless important.

On October 11, 1923, the Massachusetts Historical Society celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of President Eliot's election to its membership. In the course of his remarks on that occasion he said: —

> In all the early part of my career as a teacher and an educational administrator I was much engaged in controversy, not to say combat, and that at home as well as outside of Harvard. In all my public appearances during those years I had a vivid sense that I was addressing an adverse audience. Now to-day is a very delightful illustration of a change that has come over my experience. For twenty years past, I should think, I have found myself often in the presence of a favoring audience — of one that wished, at any rate, to agree with me, or, if they could not, regretted that they could not.

The "favoring audience" is no longer to be found, or accommodated, in any single auditorium. It has learned to recognize in the written and the spoken words of President Eliot — identical in their tone and quality — the utterances of a courageous, far-seeing, inspiriting leader of men, more vigorous and serviceable — to use one of his favorite words — at ninety than many another leader at sixty. In the annals of mankind it would be difficult to parallel the extent and long continuance of his liberating and stimulating influence upon the more thoughtful men and women of his country. For many years he has been counted its foremost citizen. In his own person, moreover, he has refuted psalmist and scientist. The ninetieth anniversary of his birth should be anticipated and remembered as a day for looking forward, with the unquenchable spirit of hope and confidence invariably characteristic of Charles William Eliot, born March 20, 1834.

M. A. DeWolfe Howe.

Atlantic Office, Boston
January, 1924

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL

HOW I HAVE KEPT MY HEALTH AND WORKING POWER TILL EIGHTY [1]

I MUST have inherited from my parents what is called a sound constitution. Five of my father's and mother's seven children lived beyond forty-five, and my oldest sister still survives at the age of eighty-seven.

Looking back on the family habits in my childhood, I perceive that the family diet was simple, that the children kept early hours, that our parents took care that we should have exercise in the open air every day, and that we should spend two months in the country or by the seaside every summer. My parents both inherited a comfortable property, and lived in one of the best houses of that day in Boston; but they had no luxurious habits — those sure destroyers of family stocks. They hired horses freely, but had no private stable in Boston. Cleanliness of house and person was strictly observed, but there was no plumbing in the house until I was a well-grown boy. The advent about 1844 of a coal-burning hot-air furnace, which opened only into the entry and dining-room, was a great event. During my residence in Harvard College as student and teacher (1849–58), I depended for warmth in winter entirely on an open fire in my room, the entries being as cold as outdoors. Whether or not this prevailing discomfort indoors during the cold weather had any influence on health is an open question.

[1] From *The Ladies' Home Journal*, April 1914.

At seven years of age I was transferred from a dame school to a private school for boys, kept by a Harvard graduate under Park Street Church, opposite the ample Boston Common. At that time the Common was a delightful playground for boys. We lived in the heart of a small city, but had some of the advantages of country life. We played there the simple games of ball then in vogue, and hopscotch and marbles in their season; and there we had admirable coasting in winter. Great elms and thrifty lindens were to be seen there, and green grass half the year. One of our sports was running races round the Common on the outer brick sidewalk. The circuit was something over a mile in length, and the competition for the run in the shortest time was keen. Like all my sisters I was sent to dancing-school, taught to ride on horseback, and encouraged to accompany my father on his daily walk.

At ten years of age I was transferred to the Boston Latin School, where the course of study contained nothing but Latin and Greek, a little mathematics, and a little ancient history. It offered boys of from ten to seventeen years of age no modern language, no systematic training in English, and no science, drawing, or music. It gave a strenuous training of the memory through language and literature, forced its pupils to apply themselves to work as well as was possible when the work had little or no interest, and got them handsomely into the Harvard College of that day.

Seeing the grave deficiencies of the Latin School's programme, my father took pains to procure for me

lessons in carpentering and wood-turning, and provided me at home with tools, a carpenter's bench, and a lathe. He also furthered a desire I felt — in common with a fellow pupil at the Latin School — to set type and issue a four-page weekly paper, each page about six inches square. We seldom wrote anything for this paper, but we did set the type, work the hand press, and correct the proofs. In these various ways I got some good training of eye and hand, for which the programme of my school made no provision whatever. Till I was twenty years old I had no practice in drawing, either mechanical or freehand — a serious loss.

In my boyhood the family spent July and August at Nahant. There I was outdoors nearly all the time. There I learned to find mushrooms on the rough pasture lands, to row a boat, and to fish for perch and tautog off the rocks. But the summer experience which I remember with the greatest pleasure was roaming about on horseback, a privilege secured on terms which well illustrate my parents' views concerning my physical education. In the preceding spring I had occasionally ridden an amiable and sprightly horse named Brilliant. Arrived at Nahant, I asked my father whether I could n't have Brilliant there. He said, "Yes, provided you will take all the care of him"—a proposition I gladly accepted.

For two or three years before I went to college at fifteen I had much enjoyed two walking-sports. The first was visiting, sometimes with my father, sometimes with boy comrades, the places mentioned in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, as sites of camps, forts, or engagements.

These excursions took us to the North End, Charlestown, South Boston, Roxbury Neck, Cambridge, and Somerville — somewhat adventurous excursions for a small boy, when the native boys of those regions were wont to object to the advent of a stranger. The second form of walking-sport was practised in this wise: three or four boys would take train for a few miles out of Boston, and then walk across the broken country from six to ten miles to some station on the next railroad, whence they took train for home. This was an instructive and interesting sport for city boys in free afternoons of either spring or autumn, but best in the long days of spring.

My mother took the best accessible advice about the care of her children's teeth and saw that we followed it approximately. Experience has convinced me that dental hygiene is an important department of preventive medicine. Neither of my parents took enough thought for their children's eyes. The lamp by which I worked winter evenings and mornings used whale oil and had two round wicks, each about as large as an ordinary pencil. Over the flame was a tin shade, painted white inside. I was congenitally nearsighted, and the difficulty increased considerably during my childhood and youth, perhaps because of the hard use I gave my eyes on grammars and dictionaries and much ordinary reading. This defective vision cut me off from some desirable sports and entertainments, and prevented me from recognizing my friends on the street, unless they had a characteristic figure, walk, or clothing. It has been a serious obstacle all my life, for no oculist has ever been able to procure for me full vision.

While still a pupil in the Latin School I attended a Boston gymnasium, where I learned to use the common gymnastic apparatus, such as ladders, parallel bars, the vaulting-horse, the vaulting-bar, and swings; and when at last Harvard College acquired a gymnasium, in 1856, I had an opportunity of renewing these exercises after an interval of about seven years. While I was an undergraduate I took several series of boxing lessons, and renewed them later when a college teacher.

While in college my chief exercise was walking, for there was then no organized sport for undergraduates and no gymnasium.

In 1856, being at that time a tutor, I joined a new boat-club which was mainly recruited among professional students, and was intended to furnish pleasurable exercise to its members, but not to prepare men for races. As I proved in this club to be a strong and enduring oarsman, in the spring of 1858 I was invited to join the Harvard crew of that year, because it had proved impossible to find six undergraduates competent and willing to row. The Harvard crew had been heavily defeated by a Boston crew on the Charles River Basin in the preceding year, and it was understood that the crew of 1858 was to use an unstable kind of boat called a shell. Accordingly four undergraduates and two graduates — Alexander Agassiz and I — made up the Harvard crew of that year. This crew was successful in two regattas on the Basin, winning the first prizes against a large number of crews composed chiefly of vigorous young men who could hardly be described as amateurs. That spring I was doing a large amount of work as a tutor, and was building

a block of two brick houses in Cambridge, the plans for which I had drawn — one for my parents who had recently lost all their property, and one in which I hoped to live myself, for I had just been made assistant professor in Harvard College, a promotion which suggested that I could have permanent employment in the University. My rowing was therefore only an agreeable incidental exercise, and by no means my main occupation. It should be observed, however, that I was twenty-four years old, and that the sliding seat had not yet come into use. Obviously I possessed a sound muscular and nervous system, capable of much regular physical work without fatigue, and of occasional severe exertion; but I was not heavy or large-boned, for my normal weight was only from one hundred and forty-five to one hundred and fifty pounds.

I have never been a large eater. I have eaten in moderate quantities a good variety of food, for I have always been able to assimilate comfortably any article of food or drink used in the countries where I have lived. I have not eaten so much meat, butter, and eggs as most of the men with whom I have been intimate or whom I have met at public luncheons and dinners. This moderation was natural to me and not the result of any peculiar wisdom or lively sense of duty. In the second half of my life I often had to speak at public or semipublic dinners; under such circumstances the only safe way is to eat lightly. It seems to me that people who bolt a large amount of food, as a dog does when he has a chance, do not get so much pleasure out of eating as slower and

more moderate feeders. I imagine that my good health has been largely owing to my moderation in eating and drinking and to the habit of daily exercise.

It is high time to speak of my mental habits. I began as a boy to use my mind intently several hours a day. As a college student, I increased the number of hours a day of mental occupation. In the Harvard College of my undergraduate days no laboratory instruction was given to the students; the sciences had to be learned from books and a few illustrated lectures. In my freshman year I became much interested in chemistry, and from the beginning of my sophomore year I had the privilege of working in the small chemical laboratory which Josiah Parsons Cooke, instructor in chemistry, and soon (1851) to be appointed professor of chemistry, was allowed to fit up at his own expense in the basement of University Hall. During the last three years of my college course I did much work in that little laboratory every week, in addition to attending all the recitations required of my class, and doing well in all the studies of the regular course. To the best of my knowledge and belief I was the only undergraduate in Harvard College who had the privilege of studying a science by the laboratory method.

This intimate association with Professor Cooke in the study of chemistry and mineralogy led to a very agreeable and profitable method of using the summer vacation, then only six weeks long. For several summers I went on walking-journeys with Professor Cooke, visiting mineral localities, mines, and metallurgical works. These

journeys took us over many parts of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and gave me my first experience in collecting specimens, in studying factories, mines, iron furnaces, foundries, and zinc works in operation, and in observing topography and the forces which have modeled the crust of the earth.

In assisting Professor Cooke in the researches he was then conducting, I got my first insight into the meaning and method of scientific research, an experience which has been of great service to me ever since. How little labor needed to be spent on the regular course of study in Harvard College at that time may be inferred from the large amount of extra work I was able to do in the last three years of my college course. Because of the profitable and enjoyable use I then made of the summer vacations, I was eager to support Professor Asa Gray, Professor Cooke, and Professor Louis Agassiz twenty years later, when they set up summer courses in botany, chemistry, and zoölogy, open to both men and women — the beginning of the summer schools now so useful to thousands of students in many parts of the country.

From the time I became a tutor, at the age of twenty, onward, I think I have done per day an unusual amount of mental work, much of which, however, has had a routine or repetitive character, as in all teaching and administration. From the time of my appointment to an assistant professorship, in the spring of 1858, and my marriage in the following autumn, I have borne without intermission considerable responsibilities, both family

and professional, which involved anxiety, a sense of risk, and sometimes professional conflict. That I have borne much labor and responsibility without ever suffering even a temporary breakdown seems to me to be due — after the inheritance of a sound constitution — to my possessing a good muscular and nervous system, preserved by open-air exercise and the habit of moderate eating. It may have contributed to the fortunate result that at no time of my life have I ever made habitual use of any nerve stimulant like tea, coffee, tobacco, or alcohol, although I have never been a total abstainer from any one of these stimulants except tobacco. When I have taken them it has always been in dilute forms.

It undoubtedly contributed to my endurance of the laborious and responsible life I led as President of Harvard College for forty years that, beginning in 1871, I passed the long summer vacation at or near the island of Mount Desert, devoting, however, part of the time during the first nine years to cruising in a seaworthy sloop along the New England coast from Block Island to Grand Manan. This summer life gave me a strong and wholesome change of air and scene, and also of mental occupation, for I went skipper and pilot. It provided for me and my family during nearly a quarter part of the year a simple, wholesome, natural life in close contact with the ocean, woods, and hills, with opportunity for various excellent kinds of physical and mental activity, and with freedom from the turmoil, noise, dirt, foul air, and nervous tension of city life.

One result of the balance between my bodily and

mental powers has been that I have always been able to sleep well at night, and, since I was seventy, briefly in the daytime also. I could always spend a long evening in stirring debate or in public speaking, and go to sleep, on getting home, without delay or need of any calming process. I could also write diligently all the evening on a subject which greatly interested me, stop at eleven o'clock, and fall asleep the moment I got into bed.

I am aware of two mental or moral conditions which have contributed to my safe endurance of physical and mental strains. The first is a natural gift, namely, a calm temperament; the second is the result of a combination of this temperament with a deliberate practice of avoiding alike anticipations of disappointment and vain regrets. When necessarily involved in contests or critical undertakings, I tried first to do my best in the actual struggle, and then not to concern myself too much about the issue. That was not my responsibility. When blocked or defeated in an enterprise I had much at heart, I always turned immediately to another field of work where progress looked possible, biding my time for a chance to resume the obstructed road. An administrator can thus avoid waste of energy and a chronic state of disappointment and worry. If anyone says that these methods require a serene mind or disposition, I can only say that it is hard to tell whether the sound nervous system produces, or results from, the serenity. Certainly anyone who ardently desires to cultivate a calm temperament and serenity of spirit would do well to provide himself, if possible, with strong muscles and obedient nerves.

My own experience has led me to think that strenuous work, done with interest and zeal, usually promotes health and vigor, and is seldom injurious if kept within the limits set by bodily fatigue. From observation of other people I have come to believe that imperfect sleep is a sure indication of excessive fatigue or of unwise nervous stimulation, and that the best counteracting influence is the cautious development of the muscular system.

There are other kinds of strain which are unavoidable by thinking people — the strains of disaster affecting ourselves or those we love, of sorrow, and of the sight of suffering which we cannot relieve. I have seen such strains bravely endured by persons of feeble body, and I have witnessed in weak or invalided persons striking triumphs of the soul over the body; but in my own case it has seemed to me that health and bodily vigor, preserved by a wholesome mode of life, had much to do with my endurance of disappointment, grief, and moral strain. Although my life as it draws to its close appears to have been on the whole successful, it has had at various stages quite the ordinary share of disappointment, disaster, and bereavement; and I cannot but believe that bodily health and strength were a support in these exigencies, and that it is a legitimate motive for trying to keep well and strong, that one may be able to meet, without being overwhelmed and crushed, the trials and losses to which humanity is exposed.

My experience does not furnish a short, explicit prescription for keeping health and working power till eighty

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years of age, probably because many and various causes have contributed to the result; but I feel safe in affirming that anyone who desires to have a like experience will do well to eat moderately, to sleep at least seven hours a night with windows open, to take regular exercise in the open air every day, to use no stimulants, to enjoy all the natural delights without excess in any, and to keep under all circumstances as serene a spirit as his nature permits. This is the way to win from life the maximum of real joy and satisfaction. Does this seem a materialistic doctrine? It by no means excludes the spiritual influences of abiding love and good-will.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND REMINISCENT

EPES SARGENT DIXWELL[1]

When I was a pupil in the Boston Latin School, Epes Sargent Dixwell was the Headmaster. Mr. Dixwell was himself a graduate of the school. His father was Dr. John Dixwell, who received the degree of M.D. from Harvard University in 1811, and practised in Boston. The son, Epes Sargent, entered Harvard College when he was not yet sixteen years old, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1827, being fourth scholar in a class of forty-four. The third scholar in that class was William Augustus Stearns, who like Mr. Dixwell remained an ardent scholar all his life, and was President of Amherst College for twenty-two years. The second scholar was Edmund Lambert Cushing, who became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire. Four places below Mr. Dixwell in class rank was Cornelius Conway Felton, Professor of Greek and Greek Literature in Harvard University for twenty-eight years, and President of the University from 1860 till his death in 1862. The class contained several other lifelong scholars who attained distinction in the learned professions.

After graduating from college, Mr. Dixwell was submaster in the Latin School for two years but then turned his attention to the study of law, was admitted to the Bar in 1833, and practised law for three years. In the autumn of 1836 he was chosen Headmaster of the Boston

[1] From the *Boston Latin School Register*, February 1917.

Latin School, being then twenty-nine years of age, which would seem to the present generation young for such a charge. He brought to the position of Headmaster accurate scholarship, gentle manners, and the proved capacity for maintaining strict discipline without harshness.

When I first knew him as Headmaster he was erect in carriage, alert in body and mind, and produced on boys the effect of a refined but vigorous gentleman. His speech was gentle and precise. He was nearsighted, but nevertheless seemed to see quite as much as any other master in the school — perhaps more. We boys wondered why he took his glasses off when he read; but that was his practice, and it remained so till his dying day. We sometimes marveled at his dress, which was by no means of the ordinary black sort. He would appear at five or ten minutes before the hour of opening the school, walking briskly through the crowd of boys in the yard, in such a costume as this: a rather light-colored overcoat, thrown back, a dark purple frock-coat, a green velvet waistcoat, and black-and-white checked trousers. As my father always wore from morning till night a black swallow-tail coat, such as is now used for evening dress, and dark trousers, my attention was early directed to what seemed to me the peculiarities of Mr. Dixwell's costume. It was not till I was in the first class of the School, and consequently in Mr. Dixwell's room, that I ascertained the source of some of these peculiarities. Mr. Dixwell was a delightful teacher of Greek and Latin, though his real love was Latin. He always endeavored to illustrate the lesson of the day with objects of art, or

with maps or pictures; and in these ways he called his pupils' attention to the real meaning of the text, and often to its elegances and beauties. One day he was illustrating the lesson with some colored prints of the Roman Forum and its adjacent buildings. Each of these prints had on it several different colors designating districts or regions. Mr. Dixwell made no reference in his explanations to these different colors; and questions from the boys soon developed the fact that they were all alike to him. He was color-blind. For students of heredity, it is an interesting fact that none of his children inherited this physical defect, but that it has reappeared in some of his grandchildren.

At that time, the master in each room opened the morning exercises by reading a passage from the Bible and offering prayer. As I passed up the School, I listened to these exercises as carried on by five or six different masters whose methods at these exercises were different. Mr. Dixwell read the Bible simply, reverently, and clearly, and would sometimes make a comment as he read. I have always remembered a comment he made with strong conviction on the first sentence in Genesis: "That," said Mr. Dixwell, "is the most sublime sentence in the English language."

In 1851 the City of Boston made a regulation that the teachers in its public schools should reside in Boston. Now Mr. Dixwell had lived for many years in Cambridge, and had brought up his family there in a very good house with a garden. Moreover, he and his family were living there among many congenial neighbors and

friends. He therefore resigned his position as Headmaster of the Public Latin School, and immediately opened "The Private Latin School," which he maintained and conducted in Boylston Place for twenty-one years. The establishment of this school marks an epoch in the development of secondary education in the city of Boston. From that date private schools for boys have been maintained in Boston, which have been recognized as in all respects equal to the Boston Latin School. There were, to be sure, two private schools in Boston in 1844 when my parents had to decide to what secondary school I should be sent; but they were not generally admitted to be as good schools as the Boston Latin School, although their friends firmly believed in them. Since 1851, a series of private schools of the first class have been created in and about Boston, and have withdrawn from the Public Latin Schools many sons of well-to-do families. Such schools were, or are, the Hopkinson School, the Noble and Greenough School, the Volkmann School, the Browne and Nichols School in Cambridge, and the Country Day School at Nonantum. The function of the Boston Latin School, however, remains of high importance. It prepares for admission to a variety of colleges — though generally to Harvard College — a large number of promising boys drawn from various classes and races, most of whom go on after graduation at college to the learned professions.

Mr. Dixwell gave up the Private Latin School in 1872, and thereafter lived the quiet life of a scholar, as a peer and companion of the many distinguished students who

were then active as teachers and investigators in the University, such as Agassiz, Pierce, Gray, Felton, and Wyman. He enjoyed two trips to Europe, and summer outings in the mountains or at the seashore. He kept up the active use of Latin literature as a means of mental delight. One of his diversions was writing English verse and translating English poetry into Latin.

He lived to be ninety-two years of age. Few men enjoy so serene an old age, filled with congenial and characteristic occupation, domestic joys, and expanding interest in the past and the future of human society.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL[1]

THE part assigned to me at these commemorative exercises is the consideration of Lowell's career as a college professor, his influence on University teaching, and his conception of a University's function in the life of a nation.

Lowell was appointed Smith Professor of the French and Spanish languages and literatures and Professor of Belles-Lettres in 1855, his only predecessors in that chair being George Ticknor, the historian of Spanish literature, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, each of whom held that professorship for eighteen years. Lowell was titular professor on the Abiel Smith endowment for thirty-one years, but was absent in Europe for something more than ten years out of that period. He had no natural inclination toward the work of a teacher; but he welcomed his appointment to the professorship because it gave him a small but sure income as a supplement to the somewhat unreliable proceeds of his literary labors. It was a course of lectures on English literature at the Lowell Institute in the winter of 1855 which occasioned his election to the Smith professorship. He then for the first time appeared formally as a critic and historian of literature. Up to that date Lowell would have been most

[1] An address delivered at a celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of James Russell Lowell, by the Cambridge Historical Society, February 22, 1919.

correctly described as a man of letters and a rising poet.

His most important function as Smith Professor was from the beginning the delivery of one lecture a week on modern literature. He had no fancy for this occupation. When he was in Europe in 1855–56, making preparatory studies in Germany and Italy, he wrote to a friend about getting "quietly settled again at Elmwood with the Old Man of the Sea of my first course of lectures off my shoulders." In September 1856, when he had returned to Cambridge, he says, "I have not begun to lecture yet, but am to deliver my old Lowell Institute course first, and then some on German literature and Dante." When he was thinking to go from Germany into Italy in January 1856, he refers to his College appointment thus: "It takes me a great while to learn that I have a tether round my leg — I who have been used to gallop over the prairies at will — and I find myself brought up now and then with a sharp jerk that is anything but pleasant to the tibia. But I suppose I shall learn to stand quietly up to my manger at last." About the same time he wrote to another friend, "Yesterday I began my lectures and came off better than I expected; for I am always a great coward beforehand. I *hate* lecturing; for I have discovered (*entre nous*) that it is almost impossible to learn *all* about anything, unless indeed it be some piece of ill luck, and then one has the help of one's friends, you know."

In May 1857, he wrote to his friend Stillman, "While my lectures are on my mind I am not myself, and I seem to see all the poetry drying out of me."

The delivery of these lectures on modern literature once a week remained Lowell's chief teaching function for twenty years; but at intervals he also gave instruction in elementary Spanish and Italian, when no instructor had been obtained in these languages for the current year or term, or when one or more of the teachers of these subjects fell ill. For example, in 1859–60, the study of all modern languages being optional, Lowell taught the elements of Spanish and Italian to volunteers three times a week for each language. This service must have been to him a real affliction and a serious interruption of his active work as editor and essayist. In 1860–61, there being no instructor in Italian, Professor Lowell gave the instruction in that language in the senior year to an elective class three times a week. In 1869, Assistant Professor Cutler being ill, Lowell says: "I am shepherding his flocks for him meanwhile — now leading them among the sham-classic pastures of Corneille, where a colonnade supplies the dearth of herbage; now along the sunny broad-viewed uplands of Goethe's prose. It is eleven o'clock and I am just back from my class. At four I go down again for two hours of German, and at half-past seven I begin on two hours of Dante."

The last clause is an allusion to Lowell's evening meetings with a few advanced students of Italian in his study at Elmwood, meetings which were maintained throughout most of Lowell's active service as a professor. There he gave a few appreciative students a critical survey of Dante's greatest works, revealing to them the innumerable beauties of the poet's thought and style, and also

his teaching of liberty, toleration, and nobler prospects for mankind. In these intimate meetings Lowell was at his best as a teacher, because he was much of the time teaching the beauty in the thoughts, phrases, and words of a transcendent genius. He illustrated these lessons with ideas, words, and phrases drawn from other literatures, especially from English literature. His own memory for choice words and felicitous phrases was marvelous; for he remembered not only the words and phrases themselves, but the places where he had seen them. In the autumn of 1872 I was asking him about the word "rote," then in use among sailors and fishermen on the coast of Maine to indicate the sound of waves beating on a rocky shore, not on a pebbly or sandy beach. Lowell rose from his chair, climbed to a top shelf in his library, took down a small book of the seventeenth century, turned its leaves for a moment, and handed me the page on which the word "rote" occurred in precisely the sense in which a man born on the island where I had my summer camp used the word, when we were trying to cross Frenchman's Bay in a thick fog. Suddenly he shouted to me from the bow, "We 're just right. I hear the rote on Stave Island Thrumbcap." Lowell resumed his easy-chair and his pipe, and remarked, "It is many years since I have had that book in my hand or have heard that excellent word."

These classes in his library — in sharp contrast with his public lectures — were always agreeable to Lowell, and delightful to the few students who there gathered about an admired and beloved master.

Professor Lowell remained the official head of the Department of Modern Languages from his first appointment in 1855 till he began his diplomatic service in 1877; but those duties were light and occupied very little of his time. In the early years of his service as professor he attended with approximate regularity the meetings of the College Faculty, particularly during the administrations of President Walker and President Felton. Thus the records of the College Faculty show that he attended ninety-two meetings out of one hundred and sixty-one between July 1859, and December 1862. This attendance must have been for him a serious sacrifice; for at that time the meetings of the Faculty were held in the evening.

During the greater part of Lowell's service as a professor he was much occupied with editorial functions and in writing for reviews and magazines. He was the first editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and was associated with Professor Norton in the editorship of the *North American Review*, and to both these periodicals he contributed a large number of articles, both political and literary. The two occupations were not inconsistent; and probably each helped in some measure the other.

His first appointment as a diplomat — President Hayes appointed him Minister Resident at the Court of Spain in 1877 — was peculiarly appropriate, because of his thorough knowledge of the Spanish language and literature — a knowledge which his work as a professor had made ampler and more exact.

After 1869–70 the department of modern languages

was strongly reënforced, and its position in the University greatly improved; and Professor Lowell was no longer called upon for elementary or routine work.

Lowell's influence as a university teacher illustrated some of his own fundamental convictions. He believed that language should always be taught primarily as the vehicle of beautiful literature, whereas most language teachers of that day were using admirable literature as means of teaching grammar and philology. He thought it much more important for a boy, or a man, to learn to appreciate and love the beauty and grace of literature as a vehicle of sound philosophy and living truth than to become familiar with the genealogy of words or the logic of grammar; to enjoy the rhythm and flow of good poetry than to study the technique of its metres. The spiritual contents or substance of fine literature seemed to him much more important than its conventions or usages as to forms or derivations. He thought it hard and unnecessary that any competent student should be obliged to choose between devoting himself to philology and accurate linguistic scholarship on the one hand or to the real products of poetic and dramatic genius on the other. Was there not time for both? He held the opinion — decidedly heretical in a Harvard professor of his time — "that there is neither ancient nor modern on the narrow shelves of what is truly literature."

Lowell's conception of the function of a University was always lofty, though subject to some fluctuations of opinion as to discipline and scope. He declared that

"the fame and usefulness of all institutions of learning depend on the greatness of those who teach in them, and great teachers are almost rarer than great poets." Further, it was his opinion that Harvard College up to the middle of the nineteenth century had had no great teachers. It had had many devoted teachers but no great ones, capable of inspiring as well as informing and guiding youth. He often lamented that Harvard's grounds and buildings had no beauty or charm, and commiserated the Cambridge graduates who came over with the early immigrations for "the pitiful contrast which they must have felt between the carven sanctuaries of learning they had left behind and the wattled fold they were rearing here on the edge of the wilderness." Another indispensable equipment of a University was manifestly books; and in this respect he thought that the College, and the New England ministers and teachers bred at the College, fared pretty well during the first two hundred years. He himself, growing up in the first half of the nineteenth century at and near Harvard College, had, he thought, no great teacher, but many good books.

If the intellectual and æsthetic resources of the College during the first two hundred years were but scanty in his view, he did not fail to perceive that the College supplied the greater part of New England with teachers and ministers who were wise leaders in communities of which Lowell himself could say, "in civic virtue, intelligence, and general efficacy I seek a parallel in vain." "This," he declares concerning the Harvard human product, in his address at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary

(1886) of the foundation of Harvard College, "was the stuff out of which fortunate ancestors are made, and twenty-five years ago their sons showed in no diminished measure the qualities of the breed." Those sons have now in their turn been the progenitors of a valid race, as the services of Harvard's sons in the recent Great War loudly proclaim. In the first four lines of the second stanza of Lowell's immortal Ode, recited at the Harvard Commemoration in July 1865, he exalts the teachings of Harvard College through six generations, and the fruitage of those teachings: —

> Today our Reverend Mother welcomes back
> Her wisest scholars, those who understood
> The deeper teaching of her mystic tome,
> And offered their fresh lives to make it good.

When President James Walker, about 1856, asked Lowell what his notion of a university was, he answered, "A university is a place where nothing useful is taught; but a university is possible only where a man may get his livelihood by digging Sanskrit roots." In his admirable oration at Harvard's two hundred and fiftieth anniversary he explains what he meant by that somewhat cryptic statement. "What I meant was that the highest office of the somewhat complex thing so named (a university) was to distribute the true bread of life, the *pane degli angeli*, as Dante called it, and to breed an appetite for it; but that it should also have the means and appliances for teaching everything."

Although Lowell was a delighted observer of trees, flowers, birds, and landscape, and thoroughly under-

stood the play of the human imagination in poetry, drama, and the fine arts, his education and experience left him at sixty years without even an elementary training in any exact science, and without knowledge of the great part played by the imagination in scientific research, or perception of the oneness or identity of modern methods of advancing knowledge in all fields of inquiry. These personal limitations considered, how splendid is this conception of the function of a university: —

> Let the Humanities be maintained undiminished in their ancient right. Leave in their traditional preëminence those arts that were rightly called liberal; those studies that kindle the imagination, and through it irradiate the reason; those studies that manumitted the modern mind; those in which the brains of finest temper have found alike their stimulus and their repose, taught by them that the power of intellect is heightened in proportion as it is made gracious by measure and symmetry. Give us Science, too, but give first of all, and last of all, the science that ennobles life and makes it generous.

Although Lowell says of himself that he was "by temperament and education of a conservative turn," he was all his life a stout believer in democracy of the town-meeting sort; but he sometimes had qualms about its tendency to materialism, and its slowness in the centurial process of developing civilization. How high his standards for democracy were appears in the following passage from his Harvard anniversary address: —

> Democracy must show its capacity for producing not a higher average man, but the highest possible types of manhood in all its manifold varieties, or it is a failure. No matter

what it does for the body, if it do not in some sort satisfy that inextinguishable passion of the soul for something that lifts life away from prose, from the common and the vulgar, it is a failure. Unless it know how to make itself gracious and winning, it is a failure. Has it done this? Is it doing this? Or trying to do it?

These words suggest the reasons why democracies must have universities.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES [1]

My real acquaintance with Dr. Holmes began in 1869 when I entered with the Medical Faculty on the discussion of certain rather radical changes in the Harvard Medical School. Dr. Holmes, having been Dean of the School from 1847 to 1853 and Parkman Professor of anatomy and physiology since 1847, was an important member of the Faculty. Of course, before I met him in the Medical Faculty I had regarded him chiefly as an author. I had read his exquisite "The Chambered Nautilus," his hymn, "Lord of all being, throned afar," and others equally beautiful, and *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, and had often heard him make amusing speeches or read delightful verses at College celebrations. Moreover, I often saw him at King's Chapel, the Unitarian church where I went as a boy with my parents. My conception of Dr. Holmes was not that of a lecturer on any medical subject, or of a scientific investigator in either anatomy or physiology. Dr. Holmes had not practised medicine. He never set himself to the practice of medicine in Boston, although his education as a physician had been long and thorough. Why, then, was he given the important professorship of anatomy and physiology in the Medical Faculty? I suppose it was the

[1] From the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, June 1923: a revised stenographic report of an address to the Harvard Medical Society at the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, November 16, 1920.

opinion of the managers of the School at that time (1847) that some vivacity and interest were much needed in the thirty lectures a week which were then administered to the hapless medical students. You can hardly imagine how dull, how unintelligent, indeed, was the system of instruction in the Medical School before 1870. The same lectures were given every year from November to March before the whole body of students. There was no division of subjects among two or more years, and no progressive programme.

I happened to make the acquaintance of the Medical School as early as 1856. In October of that year Professor Josiah P. Cooke, who had for several years given the course of lectures on chemistry to medical students, as well as all the instruction in chemistry which undergraduates in Harvard College then received, and had equipped his laboratories at both places at his own expense or his father's, got into a lively altercation with the Medical Faculty about their practice of giving the degree of M.D. on slight oral examinations to any candidate who passed in five subjects out of nine. At the end of the altercation Professor Cooke resigned his place in the Medical Faculty, told them he should not lecture again in the School, ripped out of his laboratory at the School the furnaces and other fixtures he had put in there, and carted them and all the rest of the equipment out to Cambridge. The medical session was to open in a few days. The Faculty sent a protest to the Corporation; and the Corporation suggested to Professor Cooke that he give, or provide for, the course in chemistry at

the Medical School which had been announced for the session of 1856–57. Professor Cooke felt on reflection that he had been somewhat precipitate; so he accepted the suggestion of the Corporation.

By favor of Professor Cooke I had been studying chemistry in his private laboratory at Cambridge since January 1850 — the only undergraduate in Harvard College who had that privilege — and he was my master in that subject. When I became a tutor in mathematics in 1854, I went on with my chemical studies under Professor Cooke; and in 1856 was carrying on some chemical researches in his laboratory and under his guidance. Accordingly, when he asked me to give the course in the Medical School for him, saying that he would send in from Cambridge all the laboratory furniture I should need and all the chemical apparatus which would be needed to illustrate my lectures, I had to do what he wished me to; although I knew that it was a perilous adventure for me who had never given a chemical lecture in my life, and indeed had never taught chemistry at all. While giving that course of lectures, I made thorough acquaintance with the methods of teaching which then prevailed in the Medical School, with the low quality of the majority of the medical students, and the high quality of the select few who paid little attention to the four months of lectures, but close attention to the dissecting-room, the autopsies, and the clinical opportunities afforded them by the hospitals and their private preceptors. In the lectures of the regular medical session there was no questioning between teacher and students,

no interruption whatever to the flow of dull reading which came from the professor's mouth. Most of the professors gave the same lectures year after year from the same manuscript. I remember seeing on two occasions the condition of the paper of the manuscript lectures which Dr. Jacob Bigelow read every year to the medical class. The paper was brownish-yellow, although it had once been white. Dr. Jacob Bigelow was a great man in American medicine and was a lifelong student of botany and its applications; but in his hands the subject of materia medica underwent no change to speak of between 1815 and 1855. Even the extemporaneous lectures of Dr. Jacob Bigelow's son Henry on the practice of surgery and on venereal disease became strongly repetitive from year to year, when Professor Henry J. Bigelow spent a large sum of money on admirable pictures of operations and treatments, and used them year after year in his regular lecture course. Dr. Holmes, on the other hand, although he lectured without notes and with remarkable vivacity, illustrated his lectures not only with diagrams, prints, and engravings brought from his own library, and specimens brought from the Warren Museum, but chiefly with dissections of the cadaver made beforehand by the demonstrator of anatomy with the utmost care, and exhibited and described before the class with enthusiasm by Dr. Holmes. His standard for dissections being high, the successive demonstrators received a very precious training in this service.

For the greater part of the year the medical student was supposed to be under the direction of some active

practitioner; but he could acquire knowledge and skill only very slowly from the average practitioner; hence a local improvement in Boston in the conduct of medical education. In 1869–70 two out-of-session schools were in existence in Boston for giving some systematic instruction to medical students when the Harvard Medical School was not in session. These schools were conducted by two groups of practitioners living in Boston or the vicinity, men who were fond of teaching and were willing to put time and strength into these schools at pecuniary sacrifice. Every teacher, however, had a share in the total of the fees paid to the group, the expenditures for rent and equipment being kept very low. One or two of the best teachers in these out-of-session schools were from time to time taken into the Harvard Medical Faculty. There was ample time for the work of these supplementary schools, for the regular session of the Harvard Medical School only lasted about four months in the year.

Dr. Holmes was a very interesting member of the Medical Faculty. He was quick in repartee; he liked to say some witty thing in debate — generally comical or pleasant, but sometimes having a sharp point. The President was a novel member of the Medical Faculty. No President of Harvard had ever attended the meetings of the Medical Faculty before. At the first meeting I went to, the professor who at that time controlled the whole of the Medical School — Professor Henry J. Bigelow — exhibited distinct surprise when I walked into the room; and he was never reconciled to my presence. That

year, 1869–70, we had a very rapid series of meetings of the Faculty. In fact, for a time we met once a week, which was unheard of; and new proposal after proposal came before the Faculty for discussion—discussion only, action being delayed; and the interchange of views in the Faculty became more and more interesting to me — intensely interesting. I found that certain members of the Faculty were resolutely opposed to any change whatever in the policies and programmes of the School, and particularly to the institution of a two years' course or a three years' course of progressive studies. Soon I saw the Faculty divide itself into two parts: one intensely conservative, the other open to suggestion and change, some of them looking for progress. Now, Dr. Holmes was an extreme conservative for about four months, during which this debate went on. At last, one night he voted against Dr. Bigelow, who was advocating standing still in all respects, to my great surprise and to Dr. Bigelow's greater. The Faculty soon adjourned. At that time the Faculty met at the house of the Dean, Dr. Calvin Ellis. As I was standing by the centre table in the parlor Dr. Holmes came up to me and said, "Mr. President, you have undoubtedly seen what is the matter with me." I could not say that I had. Screwing the ball of his thumb round on the top of the table, Dr. Holmes went on: "I have been under Dr. Bigelow's thumb so long, that I have not been able to get out from under." From that moment Dr. Holmes voted steadily for improvements in the School. He brought to the discussions thereafter a wit and playfulness which were infinitely

helpful. He seemed to take special pleasure in provoking the conservatives, and always with amusement on everybody's part.

A year later I came to know Dr. Holmes still better, because I met him not only at the meetings of the Medical Faculty, but in an interesting dining-club in Boston to which we both resorted. In both the discussions at the Medical Faculty and the conversations at the Saturday Club I learned to admire greatly the fundamental kindliness of his nature and the breadth of his interests. Then he was simple-hearted in a charming way, with a sort of natural vanity which he expressed without reserve. I was sitting beside him one day at the Club when I mentioned that I had just parted with an Englishman who had spoken of him with great reverence and admiration. Dr. Holmes inquired instantly, "What did he say? What did he say, Mr. President? You know I like to have it laid on thick." This simplicity was a delightful trait.

He had, in as high a degree as any man I have talked with, a love of beautiful expression and clear thought. The thought must be clear, but also it must be in a beautiful form. His conversation was not only highly amusing or entertaining; but it was also very instructive because of this clear expression of useful thought. He was quick as a flash in conversation, not only with repartee but with quick comment on the thought which somebody else had just expressed.

You know that in those days a professor in the Medical School was pretty apt to be called upon to teach

several subjects. To our generation, to your generation, it seems enough for a medical professor to teach one subject or even a part of one subject; but Dr. Holmes was required to teach both anatomy and physiology. Indeed, he spoke of his professorship as not a chair but a settee. Anatomy and physiology did not wholly describe the variety of the subjects he undertook. He was the first man in the medical schools of the country, to the best of my knowledge and belief, to imagine making every medical student learn the use of the simple microscope and to get practice in its use. There he started a movement in medical education which has gone far to-day, very far. Indeed, the skillful use of the microscope might be said to be the foundation of modern medicine in many different fields.

What an important discovery was Dr. Holmes's demonstration of the contagiousness of puerperal fever, and of its being carried by the physician from one woman to another, or to several others in the same day. We can hardly imagine what courage it took for Dr. Holmes to publish that discovery. In the first place, he was not himself a practitioner, and never had been. What could he know about the proper treatment of puerperal fever, and how could he know that it was carried from one woman to another by the physician? Dr. Holmes's campaign on that subject was carried on with great boldness. He reported publicly, but in proper places of course, that such and such physicians, naming them, had carried puerperal fever from one patient to another, with dates given, and the number of patients that the said doctors

had lost. It happened that several of the physicians he named lived in Philadelphia. A shout of derision and wrath went up from medical practitioners all about the country. What was this ignorant person who had never practised medicine saying to the detriment of eminent practitioners and the medical profession? How foolish the charge, preposterous indeed! My high respect for Dr. Holmes as a man capable of exact observing and recording and then of putting together a coherent and convincing argument, dates from my reading of that fight in which Dr. Holmes so gallantly engaged. He was not at the time clearly successful in the unequal combat. It remained doubtful whether he had convinced any considerable number of physicians that they should not go from a case of puerperal fever to another woman in confinement. The practical issue remained long in doubt. But Dr. Holmes had this singular felicity, and it was indeed a great happiness for him — he lived to see the absolute demonstration of the carrying of puerperal fever from one woman to another woman in confinement. He lived to see the demonstration, through bacteriology, of the way in which communication was made from one sick woman to another. It all came out long before Dr. Holmes died, and he saw and appreciated the demonstration. Few men of science, I fear, have had that felicity; a few have had it, but many a man of science who has discovered some bit of truth has not lived to see the acceptance of it. We may look back on Dr. Holmes's experience in this respect as an experience satisfactory not only to him but to everybody who likes to see a good

work fulfilled, rounded out, and carried beyond all stages of doubt.

It is impossible to give, I fear, a correct impression of Dr. Holmes's vivacity and quickness of thought. His conversation was the best part of him, better than his writing. Why was this? In the first place, I suppose it was because his mind was stored with literary or artistic forms of expression — with a multitude of sayings of great insight and penetration. In the next place, he invented such expressions with extreme rapidity. And then he delighted in the kind of conflict that comes in rapid conversation and quick exchange of ideas. He was very much stimulated by a skillful opponent formidable for his vigor, inventiveness, and keenness.

Why has it seemed to some of your teachers desirable that I should testify to what I saw of Dr. Holmes? I suppose, in the first place, because Dr. Holmes's own achievements as a medical teacher were so great. He had such foresight as to what was coming. Nobody supposed that he had; but he had. For instance, he offered to the whole medical class the beginnings of that teaching of anatomy which became established twenty-five to thirty years later. He saw that we were going to study microscopic anatomy, and that microscopic study was going to prove in all probability the most valuable part of the study of anatomy. It was years and years before — in the strong American medical schools — histology really took the place that Dr. Holmes predicted for it. It took another generation than his and another great teacher to establish in the Harvard Medical School what

we now understand by the teaching of anatomy, not only in the gross but in the microscopic conditions.

I want to say a few words about two other professors in the Medical Faculty of 1869–70, because they, too, deserved to be gratefully remembered by lovers of the Harvard Medical School and of the medical profession.

I wish to speak first of Dr. John Barnard Swett Jackson, then Shattuck Professor of Morbid Anatomy, in the nomenclature of the day, but who had previously borne the title of Professor of Pathological Anatomy. He had long been the Curator of the Warren Museum, which he greatly enriched with specimens derived from the numerous post-mortem examinations which he himself made in Boston and the vicinity. I noticed that Dr. Jackson said but little at the Faculty discussions, but never missed a meeting, and seemed interested and watchful. One night he tarried a little after the adjournment of the meeting to say to me privately: "Mr. President, I go only by the gross appearances; I know nothing about the microscope; I cannot use one. The instruction in anatomy, both normal and morbid, in the Harvard Medical School must be improved." After that I counted on Dr. Jackson's support for every reform proposed for the Medical School. It never failed. He voted all winter for every step toward raising the standards of the School, improving the instruction, the examinations for admission, and the examinations for the degree. It was a great encouragement to the young President and the junior members of the Faculty to find this elderly, old-fashioned, medical teacher and investigator supporting every

proposal for improvement in the School, however novel or pecuniarily risky.

There was another admirable professor in the Faculty of 1869–70, Calvin Ellis, who had just been made Dean of the Faculty by Dr. Henry J. Bigelow, acting under serious misapprehension concerning Dr. Ellis's quality. Dr. Bigelow thought Dr. Ellis a dull man, from whom the School could never get much, although he had made some pretty good observations on the chest, and the uses of auscultation. Dr. Bigelow said frankly: "He can keep the records of the students, and he can get out the announcements and advertisements, and deal with petitions and complaints. In short, he can do the work of a Dean, which is chiefly clerical and mechanical." Dr. Ellis supported every improvement that was suggested in the methods of the Medical School, supported it from beginning to end, and when it was enacted took an active part in putting the improvement into operation. He was a man of singular integrity and courage, whose first impulse was to resist and remedy any evil he saw at work in his vicinity. When he saw an evil he did his best to cure and remedy it, and get rid of it. He was also an extremely persistent person. He remained Dean until 1883, thus carrying the new School through its most critical years to safety and success.

Two of the three "adjunct" professors who were members of the Faculty in 1869–70, Dr. David W. Cheever and Dr. James C. White, were earnest advocates of the new measures. The title, adjunct professor, has long since ceased to be used. In those days the

adjunct professor was to teach exactly what the chief professor allowed him to teach, or told him to teach; and if for any reason it was not convenient for the professor to deliver his announced lecture on the given day, the adjunct professor was to go and deliver the lecture, the subject being probably handed to him by the chief professor that morning without any adequate time for preparation. Moreover, if the head professor went out of office, the adjunct professor went out, too. It is easy to see why adjunct professors in the Medical Faculty of 1869–70 were prepared for large administrative changes in the Medical School.

But I must not take any more of your time. I was asked to speak about Dr. Holmes; but I have not been able to avoid telling you about the changes in the Medical School from '69 to '82, in which Dr. Holmes bore so good a part, and in which other men, dear to their contemporaries and dear to the students of that day, took happy and successful part.

Years after, Dr. Holmes liked to tell how he had not seen his way at first to vote for the young President's suggested improvements in the Medical School, but with what delight he had later supported them. It was one of the happy memories of his fortunate life.

LANGDELL AND THE LAW SCHOOL [1]

When, in conversation, I first proposed to Mr. C. C. Langdell of the New York Bar that he become the Dane Professor in the Harvard Law School, I saw that the proposal attracted him strongly. He apparently wished to teach law rather than practise it, but to teach it in a new way. He called my attention to the obvious fact that he was a new kind of candidate for a professorship in the Harvard Law School, and expressed a good deal of doubt as to whether he could be elected. He was right in both respects; but clearly he had in mind some reform in legal education, some reconstruction of the Law School, which I much wished to hear about, having some visions of my own about educational reform. He was distinctly attracted by the fact that it was the Dane professorship that was vacant, the professorship which Nathan Dane, eminent lawyer, legal author, and politician had founded by the gift of ten thousand dollars in 1829, and which Joseph Story had held for sixteen years thereafter. It was Dane, too, who in 1832 provided the growing school with an adequate building for the accommodation of its students and its library. When Dane founded his professorship, he provided that the lectures delivered on the foundation should be published. This provision Langdell thought a very wise one, and it accorded with his own purposes and anticipations. On

[1] From the *Harvard Law Review*, February 1920.

the whole, my proposal fell in with Langdell's views of life, and he soon accepted the risks of the unusual candidature.

The Corporation consented, though with some reluctance, to elect Mr. Langdell Dane Professor, probably out of some general purpose to support their young President — all the members of the Board were old enough to be my father — whom they had placed in a difficult position in spite of much public and private criticism. The Board of Overseers in their turn consented to the election, but with even more reluctance, which was overcome mainly by the testimony of James C. Carter and Joseph H. Choate of the New York Bar to the effect that Langdell was a man of prodigious learning in the law and of remarkable industry, and that he had a legal mind of extraordinary acumen and sagacity.

The next step was to make him Dean of the School. A new statute required that the Faculty of each professional school should elect from among its members a dean, whose duty it should be to keep the records of the Faculty and prepare its business. At the Faculty meeting called for this purpose there were present President Eliot, Professor Washburn, who had been for fourteen years one of the three professors who really managed the School, Professor Nathaniel Holmes, who had been a professor in the School for only two years and had never taken any active part in its administration, and the new Dane Professor. So far as can now be ascertained, there never had been any Faculty meeting in the Law School

with a record of proceedings. Professor Washburn testified that he had never heard of one. The intervention of the President in any Law School proceedings was also unexampled. A few months after I entered on the duties of President, I stepped into Professor Washburn's office in Dane Hall to ask him some question about the state of the School. At sight of me Professor Washburn held up both hands and exclaimed, "This is the first time I have ever seen a President of the University in this building." Presidents Kirkland and Quincy took some interest in the Law School because of their warm friendship for Judge Story; but no subsequent President and no earlier one had manifested an interest in the School. The meeting was rather an awkward one. The President stated its object — to elect a Dean. Now deans were rather recent creations in Harvard University. The Medical School had had a Dean since 1864; but his chief function was friendly and charitable intercourse with the students. Professor Gurney had just been appointed Dean of the College Faculty; but the nature of his functions and influence was not yet visible. Whether the functions of the Dean of the Law School were to be chiefly clerical and eleemosynary or not was not clear to Professors Washburn and Holmes; but at any rate neither of them desired the office. The only candidate seemed to be Professor Langdell, who had only just come to the School; but Professor Langdell himself said nothing. Professor Washburn, after explaining his complete ignorance of such matters, moved that Professor Langdell be elected Dean. This motion was carried by the

votes of Professors Washburn and Holmes, Professor Langdell not voting. Then began in 1870 a process of conservative experimentation and construction in the Law School which is not yet finished. The phrase in the new statute, that the Dean should "prepare the business of the Faculty," gave the new Dean all the powers he needed.

The first subject Dean Langdell was called upon to deal with was the construction of a new curriculum for the School, divided into first- and second-year courses. To fill out this new programme required some additional courses, which the President and the Dean coöperated to procure. A similar reform was going on in the Medical School for like reasons. For three years the needed enlargement was procured by appointing eminent lawyers at the bar or on the bench to give instruction on special subjects in relatively short courses. Eight such lecturers were appointed during the first three years of the new régime, of whom three, Messrs. Bradley, Gray, and O. W. Holmes afterward became regular professors. Professor Langdell was distrustful of this method of increasing the instruction in the School, because he held that the fact that a man had become a distinguished lawyer or a respected judge did not prove that he knew how to teach law, or indeed that he could learn to teach law. He was inclined to believe that success at the Bar or on the Bench was, in all probability, a disqualification for the functions of a professor of law. He cordially assented, however, to the appointment of Messrs. Gray and Holmes, because he thought them genuine scholars

in the law, capable both of discriminating research and of accurate exposition. President Eliot had seen at the Medical School that a distinguished practitioner of medicine or surgery might easily prove to be a poor teacher, although he might continuously interest medical students as an example of professional success. In the Law School he thought it prudent to provide for a few years the best possible examples of the old-fashioned method of teaching law, partly to break the force of the flood of criticism which was pouring in from members of the American Bar, but chiefly that the good students in the School might have the best possible opportunity to compare the old method with the new.

Professor Langdell's views concerning teachers of law received a striking illustration when in 1873–74 James Barr Ames, a recent graduate of the School, who had had no experience in practice, was appointed Assistant Professor of Law. Both the Corporation and the Overseers consented to this appointment with reluctance; and in all probability their consent was given only because the appointment was one limited by statute to a term of five years. The President was prepared to support Dean Langdell in this bold adventure, because he had already seen that there were parts of professional teaching which young men could do better than old men, even though the young men had had but little professional experience. Before the expiration of the five years Mr. Ames was appointed full Professor of Law with general approbation, so conspicuous was his success.

As soon as Dean Langdell had completed his reorgan-

ization of the courses of study in the Law School, and put into operation his progressive programme covering two years, he turned his attention to the condition of the School's library, and set about, first, providing protection and safe management for the library, and, secondly, enlarging it. Langdell knew well the lack of supervision of the library before 1870. He had been himself its student-librarian for several years. He had himself used the books of the library with complete freedom, especially in the preparation of his valuable notes to *Parsons on Contracts*. He knew what extensive losses and damages the library had suffered because of the lack of supervision and the carelessness of the students. He regarded a well-selected, well-kept, and ample library as the one essential piece of apparatus for any law school, and especially for the Harvard Law School he hoped for. It had been the practice of the School to supply all the students gratuitously with copies of the textbooks they used. To abolish this costly practice was one of Langdell's first measures. He soon procured the services of a permanent librarian, who should be in constant attendance in the library. These measures for the protection and better ordering of the library were taken within a few months of Langdell's becoming Dean; but it was not till 1873, when Mr. John Hines Arnold became librarian, that the future of the Law School library conducted on Langdell's principles was assured.

As the case system came into use, another principle with regard to the conduct of the library had to be often applied. Duplicates had to be supplied of reports and

other books which were in frequent demand. With a special appropriation made by the Corporation much was done during the year 1870–71 to improve the fittings of the room occupied by the library, to repair the bindings, and fill the numerous gaps in the series of important reports which the School had acquired during its first fifty years. When Mr. Arnold became librarian in 1873 the librarian and the Dean worked together in perfect harmony, and indeed in the same spirit; and both lived to see the library increase greatly in number of volumes, serviceableness to the students and teachers, and pecuniary value.

To Professor Langdell books had a kind of sacrosanct character. They were to be handled carefully, preserved from dust and heat, and never defaced by pencil marks or words written on the margins of the pages. Mr. Arnold shared these sentiments of the Dean, especially in regard to books which had been obtained at high cost and could not certainly be replaced. These feelings were very much injured when certain teachers in the Law School, who were writing books, contracted the habit of sending books direct from the School library to one of the Cambridge printing-offices, in order that the type might be set directly from the printed book, instead of from copies of the passages the authors proposed to use. Inevitably the books came back to the library with some of their pages defaced with black finger-marks and other smooches, and in some instances with pages torn. This state of things being reported by the librarian to the Dean, the Dean made some mild suggestions that the

offending authors do as he had done — have passages they wished to quote copied. When he found that this proposition was regarded by the offenders as unreasonable and was wholly ineffectual, he came to the President's office one morning with a grave aspect indeed, and in his official capacity requested my aid. He regretted the necessity of asking me to intervene; but the evil was intolerable. I had some difficulty in convincing the offenders that the Dean was right, and that his request should be respected. This is the only instance I can recall in which Dean Langdell procured the enforcement of his wishes by an exercise of the President's authority. In general, he eagerly desired to convince his associates and his students by argument that his way of looking at measures or doctrines was right or sound.

The instructive story of the success of Professor Langdell's method of teaching law has been well told by competent witnesses in the *Centennial History of the Harvard Law School*. Professor Langdell and I waited patiently, but anxiously, for the verdict. The number of students declined more than either of us had expected, and the demonstration of success achieved in prominent law offices and in practice by graduates of the School, who had enjoyed Langdell's system and thoroughly utilized it, came more slowly than we had anticipated. On the other hand, that demonstration, when it came, was accepted by the legal profession with surprising readiness.

Other restrictive measures, such as the requirement for admission to the School of the degree of Bachelor of

Arts or its equivalent, had to be postponed somewhat, but not for long. Dean Langdell thought that English and American law should be studied by itself without admixture of other subjects, such as government, economics, international law, or Roman law; but he also wanted every law student to have had a preliminary training in a good secondary school and a good college. When Professor Ames wished to include in the purchases for the library many books on Roman law, Dean Langdell acquiesced reluctantly, but was ultimately convinced that a great law library should include even that somewhat remote or detached subject.

During this long struggle with adverse circumstances, and especially with severe criticism of the case method and its results, Dean Langdell never cared to defend himself in print or by public speech. He knew that there was only one way to refute criticism, namely, to exhibit the professional success of his disciples. His silence did not mean lack of confidence in his method; far from it. Even when the failure of his eyesight compelled him to modify his method in his own classroom, he remained sure of the superiority of his original case-method to any other, although he could no longer use it successfully himself.

Professor Langdell had, I think, no acquaintance with the educational theories or practices of Froebel, Pestalozzi, Seguin, and Montessori; yet his method was a direct application to intelligent and well-trained adults of some of their methods for children and defectives. He tried to make his students use their own minds logically

on given facts, and then to state their reasoning and conclusions correctly in the classroom. He led them to exact reasoning and exposition by first setting an example himself, and then giving them abundant opportunities for putting their own minds into vigorous action, in order, first, that they might gain mental power, and, secondly, that they might hold firmly the information or knowledge they had acquired. It was a strong case of education by drawing out from each individual student mental activity of a very strenuous and informing kind. The elementary and secondary schools of the United States are only just beginning to adopt on a large scale this method of education — a method which is not passive but intensely active, not mainly an absorption from either book or teacher but primarily a constant giving-forth. Professor Langdell's method resembled the laboratory method of teaching physical science, although he believed that the only laboratory the Law School needed was a library of printed books. His case system has been widely applied in this country to the teaching of clinical medicine and surgery, as a useful addition to the ordinary practice of teaching those subjects at the bedside of actual patients. The combination he used of the lecture and the recitation is capable of wide application in both primary and secondary schools and in colleges and universities. Indeed, the conference method used with small advanced groups in universities is an earlier example of his method, the merits of which have been recognized for at least a century wherever such groups have existed.

Langdell's disposition or character was singularly honest, just, candid, and serene; although he was also capable of indignation, quick and evanescent, or slow-gathering and persistent. He was a curious mixture of the conservative and the radical, having the merits of both. His relation to his wife — who was much younger than himself — and to her mother was so delicate and tender that it was a high privilege to witness it. About his own affairs he was reticent or reserved. Cut off in youth and manhood from the amusements and relaxations of most educated men, he took pleasure in the careful investment of his savings, as soon as he could make any. I was one of the few persons with whom he sometimes discussed investments, although he soon learned that, compared with him, I knew little about the subject. I heard from him something about farm mortgages in Iowa and other fertile western states. I found he held strong opinions about the security of the mortgage bonds of certain western railroads, and the insecurity of others, and that he enjoyed the careful researches which led him to these opinions. Such studies, however, were only the byplay of his mind. He was as successful there as he was in his other mental work; so that he left an estate whose amount surprised all his friends. He was as sagacious and far-seeing in this his sport as he was in his serious labors.

A striking characteristic of Professor Langdell was courage, both physical and moral. His moral courage was perfectly illustrated by his acceptance of the Dane professorship and his whole conduct as Dean of the Law

School. His physical courage was illustrated by his going about alone on foot by day and by night in the streets of Cambridge, when he could see hardly anything, especially in the glare of bright sunshine. His daily walks between Austin Hall and his house were terrifying to onlookers, particularly after the advent of the automobile, but never to him. He would wait to cross the streets till his ears assured him that no horse or horse vehicle was very near; but his ears could not warn him in time of the rapid approach of a quiet automobile. Then he had to trust that the chauffeurs would see that a blind man was crossing the broad street. For several years he was quite unable to go alone on an unfamiliar path. This helplessness was a great trial to a man who had always been self-reliant in high degree; but he bore the calamity with unfaltering patience.

As a teacher, Langdell was a great benefactor of the legal profession, and hence of every free and orderly community. As a man, he was worthy of all love and reverence.

THE AGASSIZ HOUSE ON QUINCY STREET[1]

The destruction by fire of the house on the corner of Quincy Street and Broadway, which was first occupied by Professor Louis Agassiz for twenty years, and then by his son Alexander for a longer term, is much to be regretted. The house was designed by Henry Greenough, and the College made it possible for Professor Agassiz to build it by taking a large mortgage on it.

The house was the scene of many interesting family events. The younger daughter, Pauline, was married in this house to Quincy A. Shaw; but none of Professor Agassiz's grandchildren were born there. Alexander Agassiz lived in the house for two or three years after his marriage to Annie Russell in the winter of 1860–61; and these two were again living in the house in 1873 when Professor Agassiz died there, his death being followed in a few weeks by the death of Mrs. Alexander Agassiz. The older daughter, Ida, was married to Major Higginson in December 1863, in the College chapel; but the wedding breakfast for them was given in the Quincy Street house. The Major had been severely wounded, and while he was trying to get well he lived in the Agassiz house for about a year.

[1] From the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, March 29, 1917. The house on Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass., in which Professors Louis and Alexander Agassiz had lived, was destroyed by fire January 28, 1917.

At this time, Alexander, his wife, and their little boy, the Higginsons, and Mr. Burckhardt — artist for Professor Agassiz — were all living there, in addition to Professor and Mrs. Agassiz. As was common then, there was only one bathtub in the house; and this one tub was not infrequently occupied by turtles or other aquatic or amphibious animals. Professor Agassiz's strong instincts for collecting specimens for study, or for deposit in the Museum, often caused him to make unusual uses of his own dwelling. One morning, Mrs. Agassiz was just finishing dressing, and was putting on one of her boots, when she became aware that there was something wriggling inside the boot. She called to her husband, who was still asleep in the adjoining room, "Oh, Agassiz! Come here — there 's a snake in my boot!" To which he sleepily replied, "My dear, where can the other five be!"

Professor Agassiz's children came over from Switzerland before the Quincy Street house was built. The boy came in 1849, and the girls in 1850. Alexander traveled alone from Neuchâtel to Paris, and on the way gave a striking illustration of his preference for an elective system in education — a preference which had a strong influence on his after life. He had been obliged to take lessons in music, and particularly in playing on the violin. In that art he had acquired considerable skill, but under compulsion. If his teacher thought him inattentive, he would rap Alexander's fingers with his bow. When the boy left Neuchâtel, his relatives insisted that he should take with him his violin, which

Alexander was very reluctant to do. Having passed the Swiss frontier, Alexander took advantage of an unusually long stop at a quiet way-station to leave his carriage, deposit his violin-case on the stone platform, jump on it with both feet, and reënter his carriage. Thereafter he never touched a violin; and, moreover, would have nothing to do with concerts or other musical entertainments — not even when his brother-in-law organized and maintained the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

Between 1855 and 1863 hundreds of young women received in that house the best part of their education from Professor Agassiz, assisted by Mrs. Agassiz and his daughter Ida, and for part of the time by his son, a very winning but rather bashful young man. It was a novel kind of school as regards both discipline and subjects of instruction; but it was very stimulating, enlarging, and enjoyable. One great charm of this school was that Mrs. Agassiz, although never a teacher, was really the presiding officer, the intimate friend of the pupils, and the real manager of both pupils and teachers. Her gentle but commanding personality provided all the discipline the school needed. The unique feature of the school was the daily lecture given by Professor Agassiz during the last hour of the morning. The topics in these lectures were varied, including geology, botany, and zoölogy; but they gave the girls a strong impression as to the real nature of scientific observation, imagination, and reasoning. Parents or relatives of the pupils were made welcome at this

lecture, and their attendance deepened the impression which the lecturer made on the young pupils. The school did not long survive the outbreak of the Civil War. It ceased in 1862.

As a matter of fact, Alexander Agassiz did marry, in 1860, one of the pupils in the school; but she had been for years the intimate friend of his sister Pauline, and in that capacity was often a guest at the Quincy Street house. In those days, Alexander Agassiz had very little money at his disposal. I learned that in 1858, when he was bow oar in the Harvard University crew, in which I rowed. He never could make any contribution whatever to the cost of the boat and its equipment. Fortunately, the crew had no expenses for food, service, or travel.

Long after his marriage, Alexander described to me an incident which illustrates both his lack of money and his lack of self-confidence in matters which touched his feelings very nearly. Miss Russell lived in Milton, her father's house being at least eleven miles from the Quincy Street house. Young Agassiz thought he was ready to state his case, and win or lose it all. So he walked to Mr. Russell's house in Milton; but, arriving at the gate, his heart failed him, and he turned on his heel and walked back again.

During Professor Louis Agassiz's lifetime, the house was the scene of much cheerful and eager hospitality; and many persons of distinction in the scientific world were entertained there. It was one of the most hospitable houses in Cambridge and Boston. Many Harvard

men who were young in the period from 1853 to 1863 remember with delight the hospitalities of that house, and those of Mrs. Charles Lowell's house near by on the same street; because at both they met the nicest kind of Boston and Cambridge girls.

Among the most delightful family happenings in the house were the Christmas Eve festivities, which were brought over from Switzerland, and maintained for many years. All three children gathered — soon with their children — at the Quincy Street house on Christmas Eve, and spent the night there with the affectionate father and mother — grandfather and grandmother — as hosts. The tree was dressed just as it had been in the old country. The nuts were gilded and silvered beforehand; the colored glass balls, bright ornaments, and colored lights were distributed over the tree; and at the very top was placed the golden star. Then around the base of the tree the little manger was set in moss, with the Christmas baby, Joseph and Mary, the donkey and the cows, the shepherds, the wise men with their camels and offerings, and the angels, all in carved figures brought from Germany and Switzerland. Everything was in keeping with the early memories of their life as children in Switzerland. This custom was kept up so long as Professor Agassiz lived. This affectionate observance brings to mind the general fact that family fêtes and religious symbolism easily survive for many generations the beliefs on which they were originally founded.

After the death of Professor Louis Agassiz, in 1873, the house came into the possession of his only son

Alexander, who was already a man of large means because of his extraordinary success in the management of the Calumęt and Hecla mines. The house was much enlarged and much ornamented. In particular, handsome wooden ceilings made in elaborate patterns by the hands of his friend John C. Bancroft (A.B., Harvard '54) were placed in two of the principal rooms.[1] Many beautiful objects, procured by Mr. Agassiz in the course of his travels far and wide, adorned the house.

It was the home of Mrs. Louis Agassiz till her death; and as she was active in the affairs of the Harvard Annex, which later became Radcliffe College, the house was the centre of many of the meetings and hospitalities which had to do with the development of the college for women now affiliated with Harvard University under the name of Radcliffe College. Mrs. Agassiz was the first President of Radcliffe.

Mr. Alexander Agassiz built a house for use during the warmer part of the year at Newport, R. I., where he could carry on to advantage his studies of echinoderms and other marine animals; but he usually passed a portion of the cooler parts of the year in the Cambridge house. Committee meetings of the societies with which Mr. Agassiz was connected were often held there at dinner, and in the beautiful library after dinner. There scientific friends from all parts of the world enjoyed Mr. Agassiz's cordial hospitality.

His library had a large fireplace in which, in cold

[1] Fortunately, these two ceilings had gone into the possession of one of Mr. Alexander Agassiz's sons, and had been removed to his residence. They were not lost, therefore, in the fire in 1917.

weather, a fire of four-foot sticks was maintained and round that fire much talk went on with friends and neighbors, particularly at late hours in the evening. Mr. Agassiz had a habit of writing during the first part of the evening. About nine o'clock he took a cup of strong tea, and was not disposed to go to bed early. I lived near him in Quincy Street; and during the years when he was a member of the Harvard Corporation and active in the study and furthering of its interests, I often visited him in his library between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, and discussed with him the subjects interesting us both. Sometimes he would talk over his personal duties and interests of the moment, and ask my advice about them; and not infrequently he would read me something he had just written which had a controversial character. So I became acquainted with one of Mr. Agassiz's most charming qualities. He would wax indignant over some matter in dispute, and early in the evening write a hot letter on the subject to the other person concerned; but when he read that letter to me, and I asked him, "Do you think you shall mail that letter?" he would reply, "Not till to-morrow morning at any rate." And the next day he would tell me, "I did not mail that letter I read to you last night; I tore it up."

The house in which two such men — father and son — lived so long and did such notable work ought to have been preserved as a memorial of fine human character and great services; but it was built of wood and fire ruined it.

It seems as if the possibility of preserving for later

generations the houses of important men or important families was passing, and that future generations would not experience the satisfaction of seeing where saints or heroes lived and died. Already in New England it is unusual that the house of a serviceable and successful man should be occupied by his son. In Boston and its vicinity I know of but one estate which has remained in the hands of one family through four generations. It is getting to be the rule in American cities that well-to-do people, as well as poor people, live in flats, not houses. The present tax laws of Massachusetts tend strongly to abolish open ground about a house. Now a flat in an apartment house, or a house squeezed into a solid block of houses, cannot well be converted into a monument — even a family monument.

Still we cannot help regretting that the house where Louis and Alexander Agassiz lived between 1854 and 1910 has gone forever. The land belongs to Harvard College by bequest from Alexander Agassiz. Therefore we may hope that later a tablet may be set up on the spot, saying that here stood the house occupied by Louis Agassiz, 1854–73, and by Alexander Agassiz, 1873–1910.

HUMAN SOCIETY

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THE WOMAN THAT WILL SURVIVE[1]

The democratic social and governmental régime has now been at work on the relations of women to men, and of women to property and the inheritance of property, and on women's rights over their children, for more than a hundred years; and the effects of this gradual development are now fairly well made out. The woman is freer in American society to-day than she ever was before in any part of the world, and less dependent as regards the earning of a livelihood, domestic relations are juster than ever before; and education is more equalized between girls and boys, women and men.

These gains or new advantages have, on the whole, made the lot of women safer and happier than it used to be; but there have been offsetting losses and disadvantages. The principal disadvantage is that fewer women than formerly are able to follow the happiest, most informing, and most serviceable occupation of the female sex — the bearing and bringing up of children. The diminishing size of families in the civilized portions of the white race and the frequency of childlessness in married pairs prove, beyond question, that large numbers of women are missing their most important and their happiest occupation. No gains in other directions can possibly compensate women for this loss; for the work of bearing and rearing children and making a

[1] From *The Delineator*, August 1914.

home for a family gives a woman her best chance of physical well-being and of sound intellectual and spiritual development.

No accessibility for women to the callings or professions which until recently have been open only to men can compensate women for the loss or stunting of their opportunity for rendering loving and devoted service. No economic gains for women, no better access to the social excitements and so-called pleasures which city life affords, can possibly compensate young women for any impairment of their chances to win the natural joys of normal family life. No social or political service can bring women opportunity to contribute to the real progress and development of mankind comparable with that of the healthy wife and mother who bears and brings up from four to eight children.

Any active-minded mother who follows the mental development of five or six children will receive herself a second schooling greatly superior to her first. It is a lively mental exercise to keep in touch with the successively developed interests of a group of children from two to twenty years of age. The good mother trains her children to habits of order, industry, and consideration for others; she teaches them self-control and the habit of coöperation; she cannot perform rightly the moral functions of wife, mother, and teacher unless she learns to be just, and to be just she must not only be conscientious but sympathetic, not only accurate in observing and comparing facts and events but also imaginative and inventive; to command clearly,

refuse firmly, and praise warmly require sound and discriminating thinking as well as quick decision. It is a matter of active discrimination and constant care on the part of the parents to secure for their family the associations which will be apt to improve and lift the family as years go by; and the mother does the greater part of this work. In this respect poor mothers are often more careful than rich mothers.

The competent mother of a prosperous family also has before her in these days the admirable task of directing and stimulating her entire family in the intelligent use of books and other reading-matter. No matter where she lives, in city, or in country, or on an island in the sea, she can use first-rate mental powers in exercising this influence; for in the ordinary family life this training oftener comes from the mother than from the father. Hence the normal functions of a woman between twenty and fifty are vastly more precious than any others for her bodily, mental, and spiritual development; and this great normal occupation of women is the best one in every walk of life, in the humblest as well as the highest.

It should be noticed, however, that many unmarried women win in part these precious opportunities for mental growth and exercise by taking care of other people's children, or devoting themselves to the service of kinsfolk or of less fortunate neighbors. Some exceptional women can follow with satisfaction the ordinary professions of men, and can take active part in the various social or industrial movements which are

furthered by public discussion and by the active stimulation of public opinion; but these exceptional women will, as a rule, have lives less happy and less serviceable than those of their happily married childbearing contemporaries.

What, then, is the reasonable view concerning the entrance of young women into all sorts of occupations that used to be reserved for men, such as school-teaching, service as clerks, cashiers, or secretaries, and as saleswomen in shops, operatives in mills, or operators in telegraph offices or telephone exchanges? These are all good occupations for young women, provided they do not impair health or unduly postpone marriage. In a large number of cases these occupations prove to be temporary with the average woman. Thus, the average term of service of women as teachers in public schools is short, and the same is true of the average term of service of telephone girls and female clerks. Indeed, the exceptional cases of long service are generally caused by some peculiarity of temperament or some untoward circumstances or condition, such as the necessity of contributing to the support of parents or of younger brothers or sisters. Such adverse conditions bring about long postponement of marriage for men; but that postponement is not so severe a calamity for men as it is for women.

When the period of childbearing is over, or a young wife has been widowed, democratic society welcomes women to many interesting and useful occupations which afford women of intelligence and good-will excel-

lent outlets for the energies of their later years. The best school, however, for these later activities is normal family life from twenty to fifty or thereabouts.

The secondary and higher education of women has been greatly improved during the past forty years; but it has not been sufficiently affected by the considerations that all women should be prepared in youth for maternity, and that training for other temporary avocations, though desirable in considerable variety, should always be subordinated to training for the main function. Men have to be trained in youth for a great variety of professional and business occupations; and, other things being equal, that boy will get the most effective training who knows what his early profession or calling is to be.

All girls should have had that advantage in their training, because they and their parents and teachers have known what their calling was to be. As a matter of fact, girls have not had this advantage, because their education has been too much assimilated to that of boys, partly for considerations of economy in the school administration of towns and cities, and partly because advocates of better education for females wanted to prove that girls are just as bright as boys in the same studies. This demonstration having now been given, it is no longer desirable to impair the education of girls and young women for this archaic motive.

When one looks forward to the future influence of women on the development of civilized society, it is apparent that everyone should heartily desire that

their influence be increased. The functions of modern government have undergone a great change since the middle of the nineteenth century, partly because of the new democratic ideals, and partly because of the extraordinary progress of the applied sciences and especially of preventive medicine.

The largest part of public expenditures, particularly of the municipal expenditures, is now directed to the improvement of the physical conditions of community life — to water supplies, drainage systems, public cleanliness, and public care of the sick, injured, defective, and infirm; to means of public enjoyment and recreation; to safeguards against fire, drought, flood, and pestilence; and to the restriction or prevention of the destructive vices. These are all public activities which look toward the welfare of the present generation and of future generations. In these things women take more interest than men do, and they are better fitted by nature than men are to take thought for the human being of the future. It is the maternal instinct that inspires most of the constructive social work of women. The mother nature inspires every thoughtful woman to war against everything that menaces the morals and health of her home, to condemn the corrupting or unlovely sights which mar her neighborhood, and to contend against the misrule which inflicts loss or injustice on the weakest and most ignorant members of the community. Woman is the natural defender of health and morals, primarily for her own flock, but secondarily for the community. The succeeding genera-

tions will find her concentrating her powers on building strong bulwarks of the State against the evil tendencies of city life and of the factory system — evils which will destroy the white race unless adequate remedies be found and applied.

The value to society of any occupation is best judged by its product. If we apply this test to the occupation of the normal woman, who brings up from four to eight thoughtful and loving children and makes of them serviceable men and women, shall we not conclude that her occupation is the most precious in the world? Under her guidance the influences of heredity and environment combine to produce the new generation. The influence of heredity on her children is in part beyond her control; but she knows that, under favorable conditions, she can affect profoundly their environment.

Hence her interest in all the social, industrial, and governmental problems that touch the life of her family.

The ultimate woman is, then, the vigorous, nursing, teaching mother of a family, whose motherhood grows more and more comprehensive as life goes on, and finally comes to embrace four generations of kindred and friends, and all cast-down and unhappy people. That is the woman who, with the help of modern science and the new ethics, will survive all the present perversions and delusions, as she has survived the wrongs and wrecks of the past, and will be the joy and stay of the coming generations.

Among the great religions, Christianity has been by far the kindest to women, and through them to the

human race. The Christian nations put a higher estimate than the non-Christian on the intellectual and moral capacities of women. It is they that ask, about any unusually serviceable man or woman, Who and what was the mother? It is they that judge the degree of civilization which any race has attained by the way it has treated and is treating its women. It is they that have worked out, in the course of many centuries, the modern conception of the serviceable and lovely woman — just, courageous, thoughtful, tender, and pure, the equal comrade of man, the mother of a family, the ideal human being.

BRINGING UP A BOY[1]

THE right bringing-up of a boy needs on the part of the father and mother a constant, sympathetic study of the individual boy's physical and mental qualities, and of his temperament or disposition. Sons of the same father and mother often exhibit great variety and sometimes marked contrasts.

The inquiry into the boy's nature should reveal on the one hand his natural excellences or gifts, and on the other, his natural defects. It is much more important, however, to find as early as possible the gifts than to find the deficiencies; for one gift may be the making of him, while he may get along very well through life in spite of serious deficiencies.

Throughout the whole training of a boy, attention should be chiefly given to developing and increasing his capacities, innate or acquired. In giving direction to his book studies, most of his time should be given to studies he enjoys; and the same is true of physical exercise.

If a boy is self-willed and masterful — highly promising qualities — it is best to give him employments in which he can develop these qualities in a safe, productive way. Then he will not develop them in a mischievous way. If, on the other hand, a boy shows feebleness of will, or a tendency to weak compliance, it is of the utmost importance to train him in *deciding things for*

[1] From *The Delineator*, October 1914.

himself; for it is the weak-willed boy that is in danger of going astray when, by necessity, he parts from the parents who have been in the habit of deciding everything for him.

The most monstrous of educational dogmas is the insistence on "breaking" a child's will and then training him to implicit obedience. No greater injury can be done a child than this "breaking"; for the moral end of education in family, school, and life is not obedience but self-control. The dogma is a vicious importation into family and school of a training which is only fit for military and ecclesiastical uses.

It is an ancient but detestable theory in education that no discipline or training that is enjoyable is useful, and that mental exercises must be repulsive if they are to be of use in training the power of application. Precisely the opposite is the correct principle.

The power of concentrated attention is acquired far more easily and completely in a study or sport which interests the child than in a study or sport which does not; and that power, once gained, can be effectively applied in unattractive subjects. Both children and adults undergo without injury, when they are enjoying themselves, hardships and fatigues that would exhaust and depress them physically if they were not enjoying themselves.

Boys and girls will dance for five hours with pleasure and without harmful fatigue, when they would be used up by running and hopping without music for the same period along a dull highway. This is just as true of

enjoyed studies as of sports. In learning to write, for example, more time should be given to the letters the child can form well than to those it can not; for the needed eye- and hand-skill will be more rapidly developed in making the first than the second. Writing-masters used to act on the opposite principle: if a child could not make *g* or *o* well, it should make nothing but *g*'s and *o*'s.

In the training of children, whether boys or girls, the effort should always be to train their senses to accurate observation, but to do this through play and work which interest the children. Those games or sports are always to be preferred which cultivate the accurate use of eye, ear, and hand, rather than those which rely on chance or luck for their interest. At school this training in exact observation would be amply given through nature study, manual training, and the laboratory teaching of the sciences.

Any skill of eye and hand which a boy may acquire will be useful to him all his life, even if he follow no mechanical trade. In these days of high wages in the building-trades it is important for every man who must earn his living and wishes to own his house to be able himself to do many things instead of hiring other men to do them, else he will not be able to keep his house in good repair.

Some of the most valuable and profitable professions are open only to men who possess an unusual combination of sense-skills. Thus every artist must have great skill of both eye and hand. Every surgeon should

possess a combination of skills with eye, ear, and hand, and retentive memory for forms learned through the eye, textures learned through the touch, and sounds learned through the ear. Many trades need special sense- and nerve-skill. Thus, a motorman, a chauffeur, or a locomotive engineer needs a quick eye and a short-time reaction; and every machinist should possess similar faculties. A painter should possess a discriminating eye for shades of color; and without the same trained sense a blacksmith cannot temper properly the drills and many other of the implements he makes.

The early discovery by parents of special sense-gifts in their boy, if wisely followed up, may assure his success in life.

Far the best thing the parents can do for a boy is to develop in him a firm character and a group of strong motives which will lead him in the great majority of cases to right action.

How may parents accomplish this best of all services for their sons? First, through inheritance from themselves. In the formation of character both heredity and environment count largely, but heredity most. To be sure, parents are sometimes confounded by the appearance among their children of a child whose powers greatly exceed those of his parents or of any known ancestor, or, on the contrary, fall much below those of any progenitor.

The direct responsibility of parents is greatest, however, in determining the environment of their children; and the chief factors in determining that environment

are the moral character and the habitual manners and customs of the two parents.

Children understand from a very early age the moral qualities of their parents, and are strongly influenced thereby. They know, for example, whether their mother is just or not in her dealings with her children. They soon learn whether they can depend on what she says, or must make allowances for her inaccuracy and exaggerations. They are much more affected by her habitual conduct toward them than by her exhortations; by the manner of her commands, than by their substance.

A father who never exhorts and seldom commands may nevertheless have a profound influence on his boys all through their lives, because his own way of life gives them complete assurance as to the conduct in them that he would approve or would condemn.

A son can only have a kind of animal attachment to a peevish, self-indulgent, irritable mother; and a son will not have even that affectionate feeling toward a luxurious, indolent, and selfish father. It is the same with the teachers of boys. To have a good influence with boys, the teacher must be himself high-minded, altruistic, and just. He may be an impatient or passionate man, and yet have a good influence on boys; but he must never fail as regards truthfulness, courage, and moral vigor.

Active-minded boys often form a clear opinion about their parents' candor from the habits of the parents in answering their frequent questions. Downright

confessions of ignorance on the part of parents do no harm whatever. Imaginary answers in imagined cases can do but little harm; but at worst they are futile or absurd. *False, misleading, or shifty answers* to serious inquiries do infinite harm, because they destroy the boy's confidence in the parent. An intelligent boy is always indignant when he learns that his father or teacher put him off with a fable when he had asked for the fact, or gave him a rigmarole instead of the simple truth.

Boys often love tenderly a foolish and ignorant parent who has been good to them; but insincerity, false pretense, or hypocrisy found out by children in their parents or teachers destroys the very foundation of respect and confidence.

Assuming conscientious parents, who wish to do their very best for their sons, what are the qualities that they should aim to develop in each boy? The first is alertness of mind and senses. All promising boys show more or less of their quality in their early years. They are inquisitive; their minds and senses are wide-awake to see, hear, and touch. They want to try experiments; they learn by experimenting. When they first see a lighted candle they reach to touch the flame. From morning till night they are active and excursive, not dwelling long on the same object or the same subject, but keeping all their faculties constantly in play and getting practice in observation. The alert boy is often troublesome to parents and teachers, but he is the most promising boy, and great pains should be taken to direct his inquiring mind and eager senses to wholesome

objects, like plants, animals, brooks, forests, landscape, and the products and tools of human industry.

Parents who are in constant and intimate companionship with their children can do them a great service by cultivating in them the habit of doing their best in whatever occupation is interesting them strongly. It is not natural to children to devote continuous attention to any subject for a long period. What is important is that, while they work on any subject, they should work hard with a concentrated attention, if it is only for ten minutes at a time.

Some parents are annoyed when a child gets so absorbed in a book, a picture, or a game that it makes no response to a question or a command, but they never should be. The child has unconsciously inhibited all sights and sounds external to its occupation for the moment; and success in such inhibition is a very favorable sign in any child.

The group of motives toward right action, which wise parents will strive to develop in their children, includes hope, love, and loyalty, and most of all the sense of duty — motives which all promising children feel from an early age, and which, when well trained in youth, remain the dominating motives of adult life.

The promising boys of the future should be carefully trained to another moral and mental quality of utmost value to society, namely, purity. This is a demand which civilized society and some barbarous communities have long made with regard to women, but has been only comparatively lately suggested with regard to men.

The progress of biological science within the last twenty years has made it clear that purity and chivalry in boys and men must be made a specific object of training in the rising generations, in order that civilized man may successfully contend against the physical and moral evils which urban life and the factory system have developed in the white race.

Some of these evils are ancient; but the grave menace of their existence and growing prevalence has not been appreciated until lately. Fortunately, the same progress of biological science which has exhibited the evils has provided means of contending against them. The only complete remedy, however, will be found in the gradual acceptance of new standards of purity and honor in the male sex.

Finally, in the bringing-up of boys, parents and teachers ought to dwell on the sources and nature of the real satisfactions of life. They should point out that the best things cannot be bought with money; that the most enjoyable acquisitions are personal skills, mental capacities, and the domestic joys, none of which is determined or greatly affected by the amount of one's material possessions; that the possession of wealth, or of the power that raw wealth gives, is not a sensible object for any boy to set before himself, since it proves a curse oftener than a blessing.

Among the life-occupations which present themselves to his choice, let every boy make sure that he choose an occupation or business the product of which is always useful and never harmful to society at large.

ADVANTAGES OF POOR MEN'S SONS[1]

WHO are the poor men referred to in this title, whose sons have advantages over rich men's sons? I mean not the very poor men, made so or kept so by misfortune, incompetency, or vices, but the common American male adults, children of self-respecting and self-supporting people themselves, who lay up a few hundred dollars in preparation for marriage, marry young on the chance that their health and their working-power will hold out, and then succeed in earning a fair livelihood for their families, without ever making any considerable savings, although they may win new comforts and enjoyments for themselves and their families as life goes on. They do not suffer from anxiety about meeting the next week's rent, or providing sufficient food and clothing for the family; but they are always exposed to the loss of earning-power through sickness, accident, or the consequences of wasteful or injurious habits.

Such a poor man marries his poor wife without possessing anything that can be called securities for the future, and he and his wife take the responsibilities and win the joys of parenthood in the simple, natural way, without any pecuniary resources except the products of their own daily labor, and without any considerable reserves of any sort, in the faith that with the help of their children they will be able to earn the living of the

[1] From *The Delineator*, January 1917.

family day by day and year by year. The great majority of American young men enter on family life in this faith, and the great majority of American children are brought up in this way.

The sons in such families have securities against laziness, selfishness, and self-indulgence, and they have inducements to diligence and helpfulness, which the sons of well-to-do or rich families can hardly obtain.

From the beginning of reflective life, they have the consciousness that their help is needed to get necessaries and comforts for the family, and to make easier the lives of the father and mother. They know from the start that they will have their own living to get when they grow up, and that the nature of that living will depend on their own capacity to earn money. They are able to see that their childhood labors on behalf of the family will add to their own individual earning-capacity in their later lives. Through their contributions as children to the family well-being, they acquire early the habit of productive labor, a habit which brings solid satisfaction to any vigorous boy, if the labor be not pushed beyond the limits of his strength.

Every normal boy, like every man who is worth his salt, likes productive labor: first, because there is pleasure in the bodily and mental exertion itself; secondly, because he takes an interest in the product of his labor; and thirdly, because he values what that product yields for the family. The boy's productive work is done immediately for his family, but it also gives him useful training in earning-capacity.

A single example from real life will suffice to illustrate the principles already laid down. A boy of fourteen, large and strong for his age, ploughed and harrowed his father's fields with a pair of steers trained by himself, and then did all the sowing and planting in those fields before his father could leave the lumbering which occupied him during the winter and spring. Later in the season he went fishing every day with his father in a dory, and as his father was seasick whenever there was a swell on the fishing-grounds, the boy not infrequently rowed the loaded dory home six or seven miles.

When this boy was sixteen years old, he went lobstering six months of the year, alone, in an open boat propelled by sail or oars. With the proceeds of this heavy labor he bought flour and dry-goods for the family, he being the oldest of eleven children. From the time he was nine or ten years old, he sawed and split most of the firewood for the family, and much of the time carried it into the kitchen; and he also shared with the older sisters the bringing of the water from the well to the kitchen. Occasionally he was hired by the nearest neighbor of the family by the day or hour; and the money thus earned all went to the family until he was eighteen years old, when he began to work for wages away from home.

This varied experience made the boy acquainted with many kinds of work on land and water and with the use of a variety of tools. At eighteen he was capable of earning his living in several ways with hands and brain. Although his boyhood had been apparently filled with

outdoor productive labor, he had learned to read, write, and cipher better than most of the neighboring children, and had acquired skill enough in these arts to enable him to avail himself of later opportunities to take work which required letter-writing, calculations, and the keeping of accounts.

In consequence, he has had a much more interesting and profitable life than his father had, and has brought up a son who can earn his living not only in pursuits where the work is largely manual, but also in pursuits where it is chiefly mental.

When one compares the resourcefulness and acquired skill of such a boy at eighteen with those of a city-bred youth who never has done any manual labor, or wrestled resolutely with natural obstacles and resistances on land or sea, or increased the yield of garden, farm, or forest with delight, one learns that the ordinary indoor home and school training given to well-to-do children has serious defects and disadvantages from the standpoint of bodily training and also from that of moral training.

The country-bred child who has taken active part in the defense of the family against the rigors of nature, and in the support and care of the household, has learned lessons in coöperation and loving service which have high moral value, and promise much for the adult life.

The thoughtful son of a poor man is sure to learn early two lessons which will be useful all his life: The first is to avoid unnecessary spending, and the second is

to save money or goods for future use. He distinguishes between transitory and durable satisfactions, and avoids spending his earnings for the unsatisfying gratifications, in order to use his money later on the satisfying. This is first-rate practice in discrimination and self-control.

The children of the well-to-do are apt to keep up a steady small expenditure on trivial luxuries; the children of poor men have to deny themselves silly expenditures, to their great advantage, both physical and moral. They learn to go without cheerfully; not to spend and not to waste.

The children of professional men of small income, as well as the children of farmers, mechanics, or laborers, can often get this training in productive labor, coöperation, and economy. The boys can do all the heavy work of the household, like taking care of the furnace, carrying coal and kindling to the kitchen, blacking boots and shoes, shoveling snow in winter, and keeping the front yard and back yard neat all the year round.

One day I was looking at the full-length portrait of a professional man, in company with one of his sons, who had already become, within a few years after leaving college, an eminent railroad manager. The portrait seemed to me a strong likeness as to both face and figure, but when I asked the son what he thought of it, he replied with enthusiasm: "It's admirable! Those are the very boots that I've cleaned hundreds of times!"

That sensible father, who knew so well how to bring up his boys, was always obliged to live frugally, because

he had a large family and a moderate salary. But he lived a long, serviceable, and happy life. That son, who was so serviceable at home, became a distinguished business man and a wise philanthropist, friendly and influential with all sorts and conditions of men.

Any boy who is promising physically and morally takes keen satisfaction in contributing to the welfare of the household and to the ease of mind of the father and mother with regard to the family income and its best applications. Girls who help their mothers in caring for the house and the children win a similar satisfaction and moral gain.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the advantage children thus brought up have over children who are always attended by hired servants, so that they never do any work either for themselves or for their parents. There is a considerable moral difference between a person — male or female, young or old — who is clean, tidy, and orderly through his own habitual action, and the person who is made so only by the action of servants.

Poor men's children receive a valuable training in going without superfluities and in avoiding excess; and this training comes in a perfectly natural and inevitable way, and not through artificial regulation or discipline. Such experience heightens the enjoyment of necessaries and comforts not only in childhood, but also all through later life. It is a grave error to suppose that luxurious living is more enjoyable than plain living. On the contrary, plain living is much the more enjoyable in the long run, besides being more wholesome.

Of course, it is only the sensible children of poor men that really win the advantages which narrow family circumstances are fitted to give them. Silly children of the poor spend the little money that comes to them quite as foolishly as silly children of the rich spend far larger sums. They will run to get a stick of candy or a cigarette with the cent they have somehow acquired, just as eagerly as the rich man's daughter buys chocolates or his son cigarettes.

Thoughtless people are apt to pity poor men's children because they have few objects with which to play. They imagine that rich men's children who have expensive toys enjoy themselves better at play. This pity is without foundation in fact and is altogether wasted.

I have seen a group of little girls "playing house" with great enthusiasm and noisy enjoyment on a dusty gravel-walk in front of a dilapidated house, their instruments for the sport being a few brickbats which represented rooms, an assortment of dry chicken-bones, most of which had been partly wrapped in pieces of paper or rags to represent clothes and so represented men, women, and children; and numerous bits of broken crockery to represent dishes and household vessels. These simple materials apparently gave them as much satisfaction as any elaborate playhouse or expensive dolls would have given.

I lately examined the assortment of materials with which an active boy of seven amused himself hour after hour and day after day in the back yard of his father's

cottage. There were three broken wooden boxes, a broken chair, a damaged sawhorse, some fragments of barrel-heads, and the wrecks of a baby's pen and carriage. These motley materials afforded a sufficient basis for the vivid play of the boy's active imagination in various interesting performances.

It is just as true of children as it is of adults, that wealth of precious materials is not necessary to keen enjoyment of games or play.

The great mass of American people need to be protected, on the one hand, from the depressing effects of poverty, and on the other, from the corroding influence of luxury; but of the two evils luxury is worse in both its bodily and its spiritual effects.

EDUCATION

THE CHANGES NEEDED IN AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION[1]

THE best part of all human knowledge has come by exact and studied observation made through the senses of sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. The most important part of education has always been the training of the senses through which that best part of knowledge comes. This training has two precious results in the individual, besides the faculty of accurate observation — one the acquisition of some sort of skill, the other the habit of careful reflection and measured reasoning which results in precise statement and record.

A baby's assiduity in observation and experimentation and the rapidity of its progress in sense-training are probably never matched in after life.

The boy on a farm has admirable opportunities to train eye, ear, and hand, because he can always be looking at the sky and the soils, the woods, the crops, and the forests, having familiar intercourse with many domestic animals, using various tools, listening to the innumerable sweet sounds which wind, water, birds, and insects make in the countryside, and in his holidays hunting, fishing, and roaming.

[1] A paper read in the conference on education of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, held in Washington, December 27, 1915, to January 8, 1916. Reprinted in Bulletin, 1916, No. 10, of the Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior.

The fundamental trades, such as those of the carpenter, mason, blacksmith, wheelwright, painter, handleatherworker and shoemaker, have provided immensely valuable education for the human race, and have, indeed, been the chief means of raising barbarous peoples to a condition of approximate civilization. To-day, the teaching of those trades, without much use of machinery, is the best mode of developing the natural powers of a backward people.

In noble and rich families some training of the senses was obtained all through feudal times, because the men were brought up to war and the chase, and the women not only shared in some degree the sports of the men, but acquired the manual skill which sewing, hand-weaving, and embroidering demand.

The advent of mechanical power and machinery has greatly impaired the educational value of many trades, and this impairment has become so common that it may almost be called universal. The accurate joints a carpenter used to make by the careful use of his own eyes and hands are now made by machines almost without human intervention. The horseshoe which a blacksmith used to turn by hand on his anvil, and temper in his own little fire with a very accurate appreciation of the changing tints of the hot metal, is now turned out by machinery as one of a hundred thousand, almost without touch of human hand or glance of human eye. The ordinary uniformity of a machine product is due to invariability in the action of the machine, and this invariability is a main object from the point of view of

the inventor or the proprietor; but that same invariability makes the tending of the machine of little use in the education of the human being that tends it — child, woman, or man.

The difference between a good workman and a poor one in agriculture, mining, or manufacturing is the difference between the man who possesses well-trained senses and good judgment in using them and the man who does not.

It follows from these considerations that the training of the senses should always have been a prime object in human education, at every stage from primary to professional. That prime object it has never been, and is not to-day.

The kind of education the modern world has inherited from ancient times was based chiefly on literature. Its principal materials, besides some elementary mathematics, were sacred and profane writings, both prose and poetry, including descriptive narration, history, philosophy, and religion; but accompanying this tradition of language and literature was another highly useful transmission from ancient times — the study of the fine arts, with the many kinds of skill that are indispensable to artistic creation. Wherever in Europe the cultivation of the fine arts has survived in vigor, there the varied skill of the artist in music, painting, sculpture, and architecture has been a saving element in national education, although it affected strongly only a limited number of persons. The English nation was less influenced by artistic culture than the nations of the Continent.

American secondary and higher education copied English models, and were also injuriously affected by the Puritan, Genevan, Scotch Presbyterian, and Quaker disdain for the fine arts. As a result the programmes of secondary schools in the United States allotted only an insignificant portion of school time to the cultivation of the senses through music and drawing; and, until lately, boys and girls in secondary schools did not have their attention directed to the fine arts by any outside or voluntary organizations. As a rule, the young men admitted to American colleges can neither draw nor sing; and they possess no other skill of eye, ear, or hand.

Since the middle of the eighteenth century, a new element in the education of the white race has been developing, slowly for a hundred years, but rapidly during the past fifty. This new element is physical, chemical, and biological science. Through the study of these subjects the medical profession has been revolutionized, and several new professions of high value have been created, such as that of the chemist, of the engineer, — civil, mechanical, electrical, or metallurgical, — and of the forester. Through the radical work of great inventors and discoverers and of these new professions, all the large industries and transportation methods of the world, and therefore the commerce of the world, have been so changed that the producers and traders of times preceding 1850 would find, if they should revisit the scenes of their labors, that the processes by which they made their living had completely disappeared. This prodigious change should have instructed the makers

of programmes for schools and colleges maintained by nations which were undergoing this great revolution in regard to their means of livelihood; but for the most part professional educators have been, and still are, blind to the necessity of a corresponding reformation or revision of the processes of education.

There is one profession, however, in which the educational processes have been adequately changed, but only within recent years, namely, the profession of medicine. The reason for the comparatively early improvement of medical education is that the medical art has always depended, for such measure of success as it attained, on the physician's power of accurate observation and his faculty of reasoning cautiously and soundly on the testimony which his senses gave him. From remotest times the successful physician has been by nature a naturalist. He saw and heard straight, and his touch gave him trustworthy information. He has still, and must always have, the naturalist's temperament, and he must possess the naturalist's trained senses. The reason that medicine and surgery have within twenty-five years made such astonishing progress is that the practitioner, possessing the senses and mental habits of the naturalist, has been supplied through the progress of biological, chemical, and physical science with wonderful new means of accurate diagnosis. The training the medical student now receives is very largely individual training in the use of his senses; and this training is given by experts in the use of their own eyes, ears, and hands in diagnosis

and treatment. The just reasoning follows on the trustworthy observation.

What has already been done in medical education needs to be done in all other forms of education, whether for trades or for professions, whether for occupations chiefly manual or for those chiefly mental.

The great increase of urban population at the expense of rural which has taken place during the past sixty years, with the accompanying growth of factories and the crowding together of the working people and their families, has resulted, so far as schools and colleges are concerned, in placing more children and youths than formerly under the influence of systematic education and keeping them there for a longer period; but this improvement has been accompanied by a decline in the amount and quality of the sense-training which children and adolescents have received. In cities and large towns the trade which a boy chooses, or is assigned to, no longer demands for admission a prolonged apprenticeship. Machinery turns out an ample product, without the need of much skilled labor. The general result is an inadequate training of the senses of the rising generation for accurate and quick observation.

In recent years, on account of the complexities, urgencies, and numerous accidents of urban life, there has been a striking revelation of the untrustworthiness of human testimony, not because witnesses intended to deceive, but because they were unable to see, hear, or describe accurately what really happened in their presence. This inability to see, hear, and describe cor-

rectly is not at all confined to uneducated people. On the contrary, it is often found in men and women whose education has been prolonged and thorough, but never contained any significant element of sense-training. Many highly educated American ministers, lawyers, and teachers have never received any scientific training, have never used any instrument of precision, possess no manual skill whatever, and cannot draw, sing, or play on a musical instrument. Their entire education has dwelt in the region of language, literature, philosophy, and history, with a brief excursion into the field of mathematics. Many an elderly professional man, looking back on his education and examining his own habits of thought and of expression, perceives that his senses were never trained to act with precision; that his habits of thought permit vagueness, obscurity, and inaccuracy; and that his spoken or written statement lacks that measured, cautious, candid, simple quality which the scientific spirit fosters and inculcates.

A survey of the programmes of the existing American secondary schools — public, private, and endowed — would show that, as a rule, they pay little attention to the training of the senses, and provide small opportunities for acquiring any skill of eye, ear, or hand, or any acquaintance with the accurate recording and cautious reasoning which modern science prescribes. The general result of such a survey would be that the secondary schools are giving not more than one tenth to one sixth of their force to observational, sense-training subjects. Any school superintendent, teacher, or committee man

can verify the results of this analysis in any secondary schools with which he is acquainted.

The changes which ought to be made immediately in the programmes of American secondary schools, in order to correct the glaring deficiencies of the present programmes, are chiefly the introduction of more hand-, ear-, and eye-work, such as drawing, carpentry, turning, music, sewing, and cooking; and the giving of much more time to the sciences of observation — chemistry, physics, biology, and geography — not political, but geological and ethnographical geography. These sciences should be taught in the most concrete manner possible — that is, in laboratories, with ample experimenting done by the individual pupil with his own eyes and hands, and in the field through the pupil's own observation guided by expert leaders. In secondary schools situated in the country the elements of agriculture should have an important place in the programme, and the pupils should all work in the school gardens and experimental plats, both individually and in coöperation with others. In city schools a manual training should be given which should prepare a boy for any one of many different trades, not by familiarizing him with the details of actual work in any trade, but by giving him an all-round bodily vigor, a nervous system capable of multiform coördinated efforts, a liking for doing his best in competition with mates, and a widely applicable skill of eye and hand. Again, music should be given a substantial place in the programme of every secondary school, in order that all the pupils may learn musical

notation, and may get much practice in reading music and in singing. Drawing, both freehand and mechanical, should be given ample time in every secondary school programme, because it is an admirable mode of expression which supplements language and is often to be preferred to it, lies at the foundation of excellence in many arts and trades, affords simultaneously good training for both eye and hand, and gives much enjoyment throughout life to the possessor of even a moderate amount of skill.

Drawing and music, like other fine-art studies, were regarded by the Puritan settlers of New England and by all their social and religious kindred as superfluities, which, if not positively evil, were still of wasteful or harmful tendency, and were, therefore, to be kept out of every course of education. By many teachers and educational administrators music and drawing are still regarded as fads or trivial accomplishments not worthy to rank as substantial educational material; whereas they are important features in the outfit of every human being who means to be cultivated, efficient, and rationally happy. In consequence, many native Americans have grown up without musical faculty and without any power to draw or sketch, and so without the high capacity for enjoyment, and for giving joy, which even a moderate acquaintance with these arts imparts. This is a disaster which has much diminished the happiness of the native American stock. It is high time that the American school — urban or rural; mechanical, commercial, or classical; public, private, or endowed —

set earnestly to work to repair this great loss and damage. Although considerable improvements have been recently made in the programmes of American secondary schools, especially within the past ten years, or since vocational training has been much discussed, multitudes of Americans continue to regard the sense-training subjects as fads and superfluities. They say, let the public elementary schools teach thoroughly reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic, and let natural science, drawing, music, domestic arts and crafts, and manual training severely alone. Let the secondary schools teach thoroughly English, Latin, American history, and mathematics, with a dash of economics and civics, and cease to encumber their programmes with bits of the new sciences and the new sociology. This doctrine is dangerously conservative; for it would restrict the rising generations to memory studies, and give them no real acquaintance with the sciences and arts which within a hundred years have revolutionized all the industries of the white race, modified profoundly all the political and ethical conceptions of the freedom-loving peoples, and added wonderfully to the productive capacity of Europe and America.

If anyone asks how it can be possible that these new subjects, all time-consuming, should be introduced into the existing secondary schools of the United States, the answer — adequate, though not easy to put into practice — is, first, that the memory subjects and the mathematics should be somewhat reduced as regards number

of assigned periods in the week; secondly, that afternoon hours should be utilized, or, in other words, that the school day should be lengthened; and thirdly, that the long summer vacation should be reduced. It is worse than absurd to turn city children into the streets for more than two months every summer. Since the new subjects all require bodily as well as mental exertion, they can be added to the memory subjects without any risk to the health of the children, provided that the shops, laboratories, and exercising rooms be kept cool and well ventilated. In rural schools a good part of the new work in sowing, planting, cultivating the ground, and harvesting must be done out-of-doors. The observational, manual, and scientific subjects often awaken in a boy or young man for the first time an intellectual interest and a zeal in work which memory studies have never stirred. Hand-and-eye-work often develops a power of concentrated attention which bookwork had failed to produce, but which can be transferred to bookwork when once created. All the new subjects require vigorous and constant use of the memory, and give much practice in exact recording, and in drawing only the limited and legitimate inference from the recorded facts.

The suggested changes in American school programmes will not make public school life harder or more fatiguing for the pupils. On the contrary, observational study and concrete teaching are more interesting to both children and adults than memory study of any sort; and whenever the interest of pupils is aroused, it

brings out more concentrated attention and harder work, but causes less fatigue. The obvious utility of mental labor directed to a practical end increases the interest the pupils take in their work, and stimulates them to effective effort. To use a good tool or machine and get the results it is competent to produce when in skillful hands, is vastly more interesting than reading or hearing about the uses of such a tool or machine. Whenever, by the use of observational and concrete methods, the pupils' power of attention and of concentrated effort is developed, that power of attention once acquired can be exercised in other subjects. This principle holds true not only of manual or bodily labor but also of games and sports, and of coöperation in rhythmical movements like dancing. The power of concentrated attention won in carpentry, turning, forging, or farm work is easily transferred to work in reading, writing, and ciphering, or at a later stage in history, literature, and civics; so that the reduction in the so-called academic studies made to allow the introduction of observational studies need not result in less attainment in the academic studies themselves.

For this great improvement in the conduct of American secondary schools a good deal of preparation has already been made. The new schools of mechanic arts, the trade schools, the various endowed institutes for giving a sound training in applied science, and such institutions as the Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute are showing how to learn by actual seeing, hearing, touching, and doing, instead of by reading and

committing to memory. They have proved that the mental powers, as well as the bodily powers, are strongly developed by the kind of instruction they give; so nobody need apprehend that reduced attention to memory subjects, with increased attention to the training of the senses, the muscles, and the nerves, will result in a smaller capacity for sound thinking and for the exercise of an animating good-will.

It is not the secondary school alone which needs to be reformed; the elementary school needs to set a different standard of attainment, not lower or easier, but, rather, higher and harder: a standard in which the training of the senses shall be an important element.

If the elementary and secondary schools served well boys and girls from six to eighteen years of age, the main reform would, in time, be accomplished. It is but a small percentage of the youth of the country that go to the colleges and the higher technical schools; and the parents of this small percentage are often able to provide their children with opportunities for securing, outside of their systematic education, a well-coördinated use of all their senses and nerves, such as a violinist, organist, pilot, locomotive engineer, or sharpshooter requires. The educational publicist must keep in mind the interests of the ninety-five per cent of the children, rather than those of the five per cent; for it is on the wise treatment of the mass of the population during youth that a modern democracy must rely for assuring the public health, prosperity, and happiness.

If the educational material and method of instruction

were right, the training given in the grades would be just as good for the children who leave school at fourteen as for those who go on till eighteen, and the training in the high school would be equally appropriate for pupils who do not go to college as for those who do. The progressive sense-training from beginning to end of systematic education is desirable for all pupils, whatever their destination in after life, and should prepare every pupil for his best entrance on earning a livelihood, at whatever age that necessity is to come upon him. It should be the same with the language and history studies in every public-school programme. At every stage, or in every grade, they should be suitable for every pupil, no matter what his destination. Flexibility and adaptation to individual needs would still be necessary in the programmes, first, in order to enable the individual pupil to concentrate on the studies he prefers and excels in, and secondly to enable pupils of different capacity to advance at different rates.

The adoption of these principles would solve justly problems in the American tax-supported system of public education which have been in debate for generations.

It must not be imagined that any advocate of more sense training in education expects to diminish the exercise of the reasoning powers or of the motive powers which distinguish man from the other animals, or to impair man's faith in the spiritual unity of the world, or his sense of duty toward fellow men, or his sympathies with them. The devotees of natural and physical sci-

ence during the last one hundred and fifty years have not shown themselves inferior to any other class of men in their power to reason and to will, and have shown themselves superior to any other class of men in the value or worth to society of the product of those powers. The men who have done most for the human race since the nineteenth century began, through the right use of their reason, imagination, and will, are the men of science, the artists, and the skilled craftsmen, not the metaphysicians, the orators, the historians, or the rulers. In modern times the most beneficent of the rulers have been men who shared in some degree the new scientific spirit, and the same is true of the metaphysicians. As to the real poets, teachers of religion, and other men of genius, their best work has the scientific quality of precision and truthfulness; and their rhetorical or oratorical work is only their second best. The best poetry of the last three centuries perfectly illustrates this general truth. Shakespeare wrote: —

> I know a bank whereon the wild thyme grows.

The florists now tell us that thyme will not thrive except on a bank. George Herbert wrote: —

> Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright;
> The bridal of the earth and sky,
> The dew shall weep thy fall to-night,
> For thou must die.

Precision of statement could not go further; thought and word are perfectly accurate. Emerson said to the rhodora: —

> The selfsame Power that brought me there brought you.

A more accurate description of the universal Providence could not be given. Even martial poetry often possesses the same absolute accuracy: —

O Tiber, Father Tiber,
To whom the Romans pray,
A Roman's life, a Roman's arms,
Take thou in charge this day!

Cannon to right of them,
Cannon to left of them,
Cannon in front of them
Volleyed and thundered;
Stormed at with shot and shell,
Boldly they rode and well,
Into the jaws of Death,
Into the mouth of Hell
Rode the six hundred.

When human emotions are to be stirred, and human wills inspired, it is the accurate, perfectly true statement which moves most, and lasts longest: —

Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.

The most exact, complete, satisfying, and influential description of true neighborliness in all literature is the parable of the Good Samaritan: —

Which of these three, thinkest thou, proved neighbor unto him that fell among the robbers? And he said, He that showed mercy on him. And Jesus said unto him, Go and do thou likewise.

It is an important lesson to be drawn from the Great War that under the passionate excitements and tre-

mendous strains of the widespread disaster the medical profession and the nurses of all countries are holding firmly to that exact definition of the neighbor, and are obeying strictly the command, "Do thou likewise." These are men and women who have received thorough training of the senses without suffering any loss of quick sympathy or of humane devotion.

Rhetorical exaggeration, paradox, hyperbole, and rhapsody doubtless have their uses in moving to immediate action masses of ordinary men and women; but they are not the finest weapons of the teacher and moralist.

> Speaks for itself the fact,
> As unrelenting Nature leaves
> Her every act!

PROTECTION AGAINST IGNORANCE[1]

The operations of the American people during the war with Germany, in trying to recruit and train quickly a large army and navy, and keep them fit to fight as well as any other national army or navy or better than any, brought to light many defects in the education and the health and vigor of the population, especially, of course, among young men. The draft also revealed an amount of illiteracy and bodily incapacity among young men between twenty-one and thirty-one which surprised and mortified everybody. These bodily and mental defects were bad enough in time of war; but most persons now see that they are even worse in time of peace, through their effects on the productive industries of the country, and hence on the comfort and happiness of the entire people.

Everybody sees now that to cure and to prevent illiteracy are national interests of the liveliest sort, which ought not to be left to States or municipalities alone; so that effective steps will probably be taken to prevent illiteracy in the future by coöperative action in the National Congress, State Legislatures, and Boards of Education for States, counties, and cities or towns. Even in the Southern States, which had high percentages of illiteracy because of the scanty appropriations of public money for negro schools, improvements in the

[1] From *The Nation's Business*, February 1921

application of educational appropriations and in their amount are already discernible; and it cannot be doubted that there will ensue all over the country a greater liberality of expenditure on the free elementary and secondary schools.

If we should be forced into another war, we must not find in our army or navy thousands of men who cannot understand orders or communicate with their comrades. Neither do we wish to find again that a quarter part of the millions of young men drafted for the army or navy have bodily defects which disqualify them for service as soldiers or sailors. Furthermore, we realize that such bodily defectives are not the men needed in the industrial armies.

All business men, bankers, manufacturers, or traders, and especially all employers of large bodies of "hands," now realize that wage-earners in general and those "hands" in particular need to be self-directed by ready mental powers and an active good-will. All parents, even the most ignorant, feel that the best thing they can do for their children is to secure for them a sensible education through as many years as the family budget can afford; but they wish the public schools to supply an education which will unquestionably enable their children to earn a good living when adults and to make serviceable citizens. Hence the educational ambition of the American people among all classes is sure to be higher in the immediate future than it has ever been before. The main question to-day is, therefore, how intelligently shall the efforts of the

people be directed toward the satisfaction of their educational desires and needs?

The first step in the improvement of the American schools is the introduction of universal physical training for both boys and girls from six to eighteen years of age. The programme should be comprehensive and flexible, so that the needs of different types of children and different individual pupils can be met. It should include the means of remedying defects and malformations as well as of developing normal bodies. It should include exercises which might fairly be called drills, but many more which would properly be called games or sports. Except in extreme weather most of the exercises should be conducted in the open air. Carriage, posture, gait, rhythmical movements, and team-play should be covered. With the introduction of universal physical training should go the universal employment of physicians and nurses for incessant diagnostic and preventive work in schools of every description.

The faithful and intelligent administration of a sound programme of physical training in all American schools, public and private, elementary and secondary, is so intensely a national as distinguished from a local interest, that the programme should be prescribed by the national Bureau of Education, or some analogous Bureau or Commission; and the execution of the programme should be incessantly supervised by inspectors appointed and paid by the National Government. Further, the National Government might properly and wisely pay to State, county, or municipal educational

authorities, or to the trustees or owners of private schools, a small sum — a dollar perhaps — annually for each pupil well trained under the prescribed programme for one year, as determined by the national inspectors. When universal physical training has been well carried on for twenty years, an immense improvement will be seen not only in the aspect of the population as respects posture, relation of weight to height, and muscular development, but also in their comfort, health, and productiveness at daily labor.

Universal physical training, combined with medical inspection and nursing service in all schools, will in time remedy in great measure the grave bodily defects in the population. Now for the mental defects. What are they? Can schooling remedy them?

The main defects are plain enough. Most Americans, educated or uneducated, rich or poor, young or old, except the men well trained for the medical, the artistic, or the scientific professions, cannot see or hear straight, make an accurate record of what they have just seen or heard, remember exactly for an hour what they suppose themselves to have seen or heard, or draw the just, limited inference from premises — true or false — which they accept.

If an educated American, engaged in business or in the professions called learned, has fortunately acquired the capacity to do any of these things, the chances are that he owes his unusual power not to his school or college, or to anything in his formal education, but to sports or other outside pursuits, or to companionship

with some older person who interested him in congenial occupations and showed him how to work hard at them, or to the discipline with which his mode of earning his livelihood provided him. As a rule, American schools have not imparted to their pupils any skill of eye, ear, or hand.

Again, twentieth-century Americans, educated and uneducated alike, manifest a capacity for gregarious excitement which for the time being destroys the judgment and often leads to foolish action. This tendency is manifested in political conventions, labor-union meetings, "drives" for multifarious objects, religious revivals, stock exchanges with their preposterous rumors, and public ball-games. It produces long-continued screaming or howling and other irrational demonstrations. These manifestations of bodily and mental instability in throngs have increased rapidly within the past twenty-five years, and are probably among the untoward results of the strenuous, agitated, hurrying life which most Americans have lately been living, speeded up by telegraphs, telephones, express trains, the automobile, and rapid machinery in general.

Under the excitements of the war in Europe many Americans, both men and women, have become more credulous than they used to be, particularly if the rumors or opinions which come to them fall in with their own habitual impressions and wishes. Telegraphs, telephones, and the daily press are largely responsible for this increase of irrational credulity. The newspapers are mainly filled with hastily gathered so-called

news and hastily written comments on that confused mass of guesses and assertions. Reporters, correspondents, contributors, and editors all write in haste with little chance for consideration, mostly on reports received over electric wires or through the ether from men who have no time to discriminate between facts and fancies, and have an interest in reporting at length inventions, suppositions, and gossip, whenever facts are scarce. The daily press, therefore, stimulates in millions of people the herd-tendency to common emotional impulses and simultaneous action on impulses, and furnishes infinite material for eager acceptance by credulous minds.

Of course, this credulity in the human race is a very old story, as the persistent acceptance of myths and foolish tales all down the centuries abundantly illustrates; but it is an interesting observation that popular education, in the form heretofore administered, seems not to have diminished much the credulity of the masses of mankind. At any rate, under conditions of world suffering and dread, fatuous credulity is prevalent and highly mischievous.

During the war, wages and prices in all American industries went up with a sort of stirring whirl, which took effect over the whole country. Profits in most businesses increased in the same intoxicating way. The Armistice came when extravagant expenditure had become common in all classes of American society, but most in the class of wage-earners, who finding themselves in possession of undreamed-of incomes, took to

buying costly foods, clothing, furniture, and jewelry. It was again a case of gregarious irrational excitement.

The present fall in prices is another case of the same sort. Producers, consumers, and wholesale and retail dealers suddenly became alarmed and uncertain of the future, and most people ceased to buy except for pressing needs. It is the fashion to explain or interpret such multitudinous common actions and reactions by the phrase, "class psychology"; but this term covers nothing more than the common mental impulse of the herd without exercise of any reasoning faculty or sober will-power.

Can education remedy such defects as these in a whole people? It cannot immediately; it can by steady work on a whole generation, if sound educational methods be employed. Let us turn to the consideration of those methods. They will be found to be comparatively new inventions, but yet not wholly untried.

The new methods depend for success on the personal force and sympathetic quality of the teacher, and his own comprehension of the methods, and therefore require a fine breed of teachers on a new scale; but they may be expressed in rules or formulæ as follows: —

Enlist the interest of every pupil in every school — public or private, elementary or secondary — in his daily tasks, in order to get from him hard, persistent, and willing work. Only through interest in work comes power of mental application, and in due course success and content in productive labor — labor which, however, can never be free from tiresome routine or from

oft-repeated exertions. The too common opinion, that there is no useful training except in unattractive or repulsive subjects or practices, is just the opposite of the truth for either child or adult. In this world, stern as well as beautiful, it is quite unnecessary to invent hardness or obstacles for any human being.

Relate every lesson to something in the life of the child; so that he may see the application and usefulness of the lesson, and how it concerns him.

Teach all subjects, wherever possible, from actual objects, to be accurately observed and described by the pupils themselves. Cultivate every hour in every child the power to see and describe accurately.

Make the training of the senses a prime object every day.

Teach every child to draw, model, sing, and read music. Encourage all pupils who show unusual capacity in any of these directions to develop their gifts assiduously both in and out of school hours.

Stimulate every pupil to active participation in every school exercise by looking, listening, speaking, drawing, and writing himself. Each pupil should be active, not passive, alert, not dawdling, led or piloted, not driven, but always learning the value of coöperative discipline.

Teach groups of subjects together in their natural and inevitable relations. For example, teach arithmetic, algebra, and geometry together from beginning to end. Do the same for economics, government, and sociology, and for history, biography, geography, and travel. Associate reading, spelling, and composition day by

day, and make sure that every child sees the object of having his own compositions correctly spelled and legibly written.

Teach chemistry, physics, biology, and geology all together every week throughout the entire course (twelve years); because these subjects are generally found working in intimate association in most natural processes of growth, decay, creation, or extinction, and are separable only for advanced pupils who need to understand the man-made theories and imaginings which have proved serviceable guides to fruitful experimentation and research.

The weekly programme should provide every pupil with frequent opportunities to describe before teacher and class something he has enjoyed seeing or reading. Occasionally the pupils who excel in accurate and vivid narration or description should have the privilege of addressing the whole school assembly.

Make sure by adequate provisions in the programme that every pupil has a fair chance at the proper stage to learn, in the laboratory method, the elements of agriculture, dietetics, cooking, and hygiene, every girl to acquire also the other domestic arts, and every boy the elements of some manual trade — by preference one common in the school's locality. The instruction in hygiene should include community hygiene, or the defenses of society against the diseases and degradations consequent upon ignorance, moral debility, poverty, and vice.

To make room for the new subjects, reduce class work and the size of classes, lengthen the school day,

and shorten the present summer vacation. These changes are for the benefit, physical and spiritual, of all children and all parents.

Increase individual work. Aim at variety in pupils' attainments and in rate of promotion, and therefore at frequent sortings and shiftings among the pupils. A uniform or averaged product should bring emphatic condemnation on any school.

Give every pupil abundant opportunities to judge evidence, to determine facts, and to discriminate between facts and fancies.

Use in schools such stimulating competition as both children and adults use in sports and games to increase their enjoyment of them.

Keep the atmosphere of every school charged with the master sentiments of love, hope, and duty. Keep out fear and selfishness.

The schools thus planned and conducted will not be vocational or trade schools. They will not be mechanic-arts schools. They will teach only subjects that every child ought to have opportunity to learn before it is sixteen years old, subjects that will serve well the child grown up, whatever its occupation. The pupils will learn to read, write, spell, and cipher much better than they do in the existing schools, and a larger proportion of the graduates will become in after life what may properly be called cultivated men and women. Best of all, the children will enjoy their school life, and prefer school time to vacation. Later, they will help to make wiser and happier the life of the community in which they settle.

It is plain that to carry these principles into practice in all American schools from bottom to top will require many years, much more money than the people have heretofore been accustomed to spend on the education of the children, and much effort to train by the hundred thousand a new kind of teacher. The colleges and universities of the country should systematically urge these principles on the attention of the American public, especially the women's colleges, because an immense majority of American school teachers are women, and also because mothers generally have more to do than fathers with their children's training.

To promote schools of the sort above described will be a businesslike undertaking for leading business men all over the country.

AMERICAN EDUCATION SINCE THE CIVIL WAR [1]

It is the fashion to-day among hasty and confident writers for the newspapers, magazines, and popular booklets to assert that modern civilization has failed, and is going the way of the Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman empires; that the world is in chaos and must be made anew after a period of anarchy and suffering. These writers seem never to have perceived, or to have forgotten, that new moral and juridical forces have come into play since Magna Charta, the Protestant Reformation, and the landing of the Pilgrims and that all the ancient civilizations were founded on slavery, peonage, or serfdom — monstrous wrongs and evils which have now disappeared in the countries called civilized. Among American writers of this sort there are not a few who declare loudly that American education is a failure, and illustrate this mortifying proposition with a few facts and more speculations. The blame for this alleged unfortunate condition of the American people is variously distributed among parents, teachers, school administrators, school boards, and college and university faculties and presidents. Some of these writers appear to have cloudy visions of remedies for

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this deplorable failure in the United States of the principal safeguard of democracy; but most of them, like critics and cynics in general, dwell much more on the existing evils than on their remedies.

Now, it has happened to me to witness and take active part in the development of American education from 1854 to the present day; and the strongest conviction I have derived from this long survey is that the improvement of American education, from top to bottom, from the kindergarten through the professional school, during these sixty-seven years is in high degree encouraging and hopeful. This development has not been steady during the two generations of men, but rather in waves, and at various speeds. Moreover, the waves of educational progress, like ocean waves, are often long prepared and come from far. The most rapid development has taken place since the opening of the Great War in Europe, being one of the happiest consequences of the entry of the United States into that war, and of the prodigious efforts made by the entire people and their government to take an effective part in it.

It is my purpose in this address to point out some of the important steps in the total development.

In 1854, nearly all schools, elementary and secondary, and nearly all colleges had fixed programmes through which every pupil was to be conducted. Little attention could be paid to the individual child, except sometimes in small rural schools where an exceptional teacher had to deal with only a small group of children of various

ages between five and eighteen. Even from such schools, with a term of perhaps only thirteen weeks in winter, the sometimes competent college undergraduate was disappearing as teacher, his place being taken, at the best, by some girl graduate of a State normal school, and at the worst, by some young woman who could barely read, write, and cipher. In urban communities, girl graduates of normal schools were already in possession of the elementary schools and of large parts of the secondary schools, their work being supervised by principals, superintendents, and Boards conservative by nature and training, and aiming to make the school an effective factory, standardized and smooth-running, with a product characterized rather by certified uniformity than by natural diversity. Even the colleges had usually four-year prescribed courses of study, of limited range and elementary quality, with no advanced studies accessible to any student however ambitious and competent. Neither school nor college paid attention to training the senses, to the acquisition of any skill, or to implanting in the pupil's or student's mind the method of the inductive philosophy or the love of reading. The discipline in both school and college was of the driving, not of the leading, sort.

Into this rigid and comparatively fruitless system came gradually, between 1865 and 1885, the individual election of studies by the student or pupil, first for college students and then for the pupils of secondary schools, and the adoption of the underlying principle that hard and happy work is only to be obtained from

the young on subjects which interest the pupil and induce in him eager, spontaneous activities. Interest, choice, and activity had arrived as the motive powers in organized education. In order to discover and gratify the bent of each pupil at school the number of subjects taught in both elementary and secondary schools had to be increased; and in order to enable the college student to follow his bent far, college studies had to be multiplied in number and increased in range. For these purposes a new breed of teachers had to be born and trained — a slow process. By 1880, a considerable number of this new breed had been raised; so that college Faculties began to exhibit a considerable improvement in respect to both the quality and the number of their members, an improvement which is still going on. This improvement alone is worth the fifty years of patient effort it has cost.

A corresponding improvement in the teachers of elementary and secondary schools it was not reasonable to expect. The great body of teachers in the elementary schools are young women who on the average do not remain long in the calling. They have to be trained by the thousand in the high and normal schools, which as a rule give little opportunity for the development of unusual individual qualities or capacities. The college and university Faculties ought to be recruited from among persons of unusual promise and often of unusual attainments; and it is the prime duty of college and university presidents to be constantly searching for unusual personalities. The principals and superintend-

ents of schools had at that period small chance to discover and engage such personalities; and indeed they are not much better off to-day.

I recall with a shiver the very imperfect means I possessed in the 70's for discovering the kind of man that I knew ought to be found for any professorship in Harvard University. I had to depend on my own acquaintance with scholarly men, on casual contacts with such persons in travel and at meetings of learned societies, and on advice sought by letter from eminent scholars. Of course there had been leading American scholars and specialists in earlier generations, like Nathaniel Bowditch of *The Navigator*, Joseph Story in law, George B. Emerson in trees and shrubs, David Humphreys Storer on fishes, George Ticknor in Spanish literature, and William H. Prescott and George Bancroft in history. In the middle of that century there was a small group of men of high merit as investigators and authors from whom advice could be obtained, such as Asa Gray the botanist, Jeffries Wyman the anatomist and physiologist, and Louis Agassiz the zoölogist at Harvard, Benjamin Silliman and James D. Dana at Yale, Maury and the three brothers Rogers of Virginia, and Joseph Henry the physicist of Princeton and the Smithsonian. But these great men were isolated as teachers; so that their influence was felt, not by large groups of students, but mainly by disciples whose previous training had often been unsystematic and peculiar. In those days, too, the numerous associations or societies of men learned in a single branch of knowledge,

such as the classics, law, history, chemistry, physics, engineering, architecture, and physiography, had not come into existence. Since 1890, these societies have furnished university presidents and heads of departments with much valuable information about their leading members, and have revealed to intelligent inquirers the young men of promise.

It took decades to develop even in the strongest universities what are now called "Departments," as of Latin, mathematics, or physics, and more decades still to develop what are now called "Divisions," in which several Departments are united, as, for instance, the Division of ancient languages, or of modern languages, or of history, government, and economics. So long as it was the practice to have only one professor for each subject — which was the common way — it was of course impossible to create a department. When, therefore, one looks at the existing organization of any considerable American college or university to-day, he cannot fail to observe that a wonderful improvement has taken place in the American university as an instrument of teaching, research, and social progress since the close of the Civil War.

During the period under consideration (1865–90), American education made great gains in respect to training men for the professions, old and new. Prior to 1870 there were no examinations for admission to professional schools in the United States, and, what was worse, there were no effective examinations for graduation. The teaching of law and medicine in those days

was probably as good at Harvard University as at any other American university, and the quality of law and medical students at Harvard was as good as anywhere; but the Law Faculty gave the degree of Bachelor of Laws to any man who had paid three term bills (covering eighteen months) and had not been very irregular in attending lectures. When I asked in the Medical Faculty of 1870 if it would be possible to substitute an hour's written examination for the five minutes' oral examination (a five-minute interview with the professor of each of the nine principal subjects then taught in the School) at the examinations for graduation, the answer came promptly from the Head of the Faculty: "Written examinations are impossible in the Medical School. A majority of the students cannot write well enough." Anyone who contrasts that state of things with the conditions of admission and graduation in schools of law and medicine to-day in all parts of the United States will be satisfied that improvements in American training for the professions have taken place which are already of immeasurable value, and which promise in the future great gains in all sorts of professional practice, and therefore of professional influence and service. The improvements are quite as striking in the newer professions, like engineering, architecture, landscape architecture, and dentistry, as they are in the older, like divinity, law, medicine, and teaching.

Another great advance in American education since the Civil War is the development of separate colleges for women, and the increased resort of young women to

the coeducational institutions of higher education. At first, the colleges for women were restricted or hampered in their development, because the object of Faculties and students alike seemed to be to prove that young women could study advantageously all the subjects which had made the staple of instruction in colleges for men, and that young women could in those subjects attain success quite equal to that which young men had previously exhibited. Just as the introduction of new methods of teaching and a new kind of teacher had been restricted in colleges and universities for men by lack of money, so in the separate colleges for women their development was greatly hindered by lack of income. Indeed, this restriction is not yet overcome, although considerable endowments have lately been raised for several women's colleges. As results of the creation and growth of colleges for women in the United States, searchers for women teachers can find better trained women for higher places in American schools and colleges, and women have gained access in small numbers to all the older professions called learned and to several of the new ones. They have also won positions — generally secondary ones — in various sorts of scientific research, including biological, physical, chemical, medical, and astronomical. Anyone who can recall how limited and inaccessible the education of girls was in the United States — as also in Europe — before the Civil War, will appreciate that the training of women for family, social, industrial, and professional life has made enormous gains in the United States within the

last fifty years. Much gain is still to come; for the women students in colleges and universities are now free to pursue the studies of their choice or their most appropriate studies, being no longer under the necessity of demonstrating that young women can deal successfully with all the subjects which young men used to deal with.

If, then, there are spots in which American education has failed under new stresses, there are large regions in which it has made immense gains during the past two generations.

In Europe and America alike improvements in popular education have always spread from the top downward and outward, from Luther, Melanchthon, Locke, Milton, Montaigne, Kant, Franklin, Mann, Emerson, Spencer, Froebel, Pestalozzi, Seguin, and their like, and from the higher institutions of education to the lower. The United States has supplied a very interesting illustration of this general fact. At the meeting in 1891 of the National Council of Education, an interior committee of the National Education Association, a committee organized at a previous meeting made a valuable report through their chairman, Mr. James H. Baker, then Principal of the Denver High School, on the general subject of uniformity in school programmes and in requirements for admission to college. That committee was continued, and was authorized to procure a conference on the subject of uniformity during the meeting of the National Council in 1892, the conference to consist of representatives of leading colleges

and secondary schools in different parts of the country. This conference was well selected and duly summoned, and held a series of meetings at Saratoga, N. Y., July 7–9, 1892. The discussions at this meeting resulted in the following specific recommendations which the conference sent to the National Council of Education, then in session: —

1. That a conference be held of school and college teachers of each principal subject which enters into the programmes of secondary schools in the United States and into the requirements for admission to college, each conference to consider the proper limits of its subject in schools, the best methods of instruction, and the most desirable allotment of time for the subject.

2. That a committee be appointed with authority to select the members of these conferences, and to arrange their meetings, the results of all the conferences to be reported to this central committee.

3. That this Committee consist of the following ten persons named, who were the Commissioner of Education at Washington, D. C., four university presidents, three principals of high schools, one professor in a college, and the headmaster of a well-endowed preparatory school.

These recommendations of the conference were adopted first by the National Council of Education, and then by the Directors of the National Education Association. Those Directors made an appropriation of $2500 toward defraying the expenses of the proposed conferences — an unprecedented performance on the part of the Association. Every man named on the

Committee of Ten accepted his appointment; and the Committee met at Columbia College, New York City, November 9–11, 1892. In preparation for this meeting a table had been prepared by means of a prolonged correspondence with the principals of selected secondary schools in various parts of the country, a table which showed conclusively: first, that the total number of subjects taught in these secondary schools was nearly forty, thirteen of which, however, were found in only a few schools; secondly, that many of these subjects were taught for such short periods that little training could be derived from them; and, thirdly, that the time allotted to the same subject in the different schools varied widely for the older subjects as well as for the newer. This picture was striking and in some respects surprising. It indicated the probable scope and nature of the conferences' work.

The Committee of Ten decided on November 10, 1892, to organize conferences on the following subjects: (1) Latin; (2) Greek; (3) English; (4) other modern languages; (5) mathematics; (6) physics, astronomy, and chemistry; (7) natural history, including botany, zoölogy, and physiology; (8) history, civil government, and political economy; and (9) geography (physical geography, geology, and mineralogy), each conference to consist of ten members. The Committee then proceeded to select the members of each of these conferences, ninety in all, and to provide about thirty substitutes. It was fortunately constituted for this function because all the members had wide personal

acquaintance among the professors and teachers of the country, and good knowledge of colleges and secondary schools throughout the country. They made their selections with due regard to the scholarship and experience of the gentlemen named, to the fair division of the members between colleges on the one hand and schools on the other, and to the proper geographical distribution of the total membership. The Committee then asked every conference to consider: —

1. At what age should the study which is the subject of the conference be first introduced in a school course extending from the age of six years to eighteen years?

2. How many hours a week, for how many years, should be devoted to it?

3. How many hours a week, for how many years, should be devoted to it in the ordinary high school period?

4. What topics or parts of the subject should be covered during the whole course — six to eighteen years of age?

5. What topics or parts of the subject may best be reserved for the last four years?

6. In what form and to what extent should the subject enter into college requirements for admission?

7. Should the subject be treated differently for pupils who are going to college, for those who are going to scientific or technical school, and for those who are presumably going to neither?

8. At what stage, if ever, should this differentiation begin?

9. Can any description be given of the best method of teaching this subject throughout the school course?

10. Can any description be given of the best mode of testing attainments in this subject at college admission examinations?

11. If a college or university permit a division of the admission examinations between two years, can the best limit between the preliminary and the final examinations be defined?

This set of questions touched all the points which had been raised in the discussions about secondary education during the two preceding decades, and anticipated most of those of the two succeeding decades.

The Committee further voted that it was expedient that the conferences on Greek and Latin meet at the same place.

Finally, it left all further questions of detail to the Chairman with full power.

The nine conferences met on December 28, 1892, at seven different places with eighty-eight members present, of whom forty-six were in the service of colleges or universities, forty-one in the service of schools, and one was a Government official. All the conferences sat for three days, and their discussions were frank, earnest, and thorough; but in every conference an extraordinary unity of opinion was arrived at. Only two conferences yielded minority reports, namely, the conference on physics, astronomy, and chemistry, and the conference on geography; and in the first case, the dissenting opinions touched only one important point — out of many — in the report of the majority.

By October 1 the reports of the conferences had all been printed, after revision by the Chairmen of the conferences respectively, and had been distributed to the members of the Committee of Ten, together with a

preliminary draft of a report for the Committee. With the aid of comments and suggestions received from members of the Committee, a second draft of this report was made ready in print as the groundwork of the deliberations of the Committee at their final meeting, which was held at Columbia College, November 8–11, 1893. The vigorous discussions at this prolonged meeting resulted in a thorough revision of the second draft.

The report of the Committee of Ten and the nine reports of the conferences immediately engaged the attention of thousands of teachers in colleges and schools all over the country, and became objects of close attention in all teachers' meetings and in all college Faculties. William T. Harris, then Commissioner of Education but earlier Superintendent of Schools at St. Louis and always an educational philosopher, wrote to the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Hoke Smith, on December 8, 1893, in a letter intended to accomplish Secretary Smith's expressed wish that the reports be printed as one of the documents of the Bureau of Education, as follows: —

> The recommendations of this report will draw the attention of great numbers of teachers to the question of educational values, and this will lead to a better understanding of what the pupil should study to gain the most from his work in school. In this respect I consider this the most important educational document ever published in this country.

Whoever reads to-day the reports of the nine conferences will find in them all the suggestions which have

led to educational progress during the past twenty-eight years. They are fruitful still. He will find there many suggestions as to the means of *interesting* every pupil in every school, public or private, elementary or secondary, in his daily work, and how to get from every pupil *hard work* but willing; how to make the teaching of every subject *concrete*, and to relate it to something in the life of the child or the youth, so that he may see the application and *usefulness* of each lesson, and how it *concerns him;* how to teach subjects in *groups* and not singly in a detached way, as, for example, how to teach together arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, or history, government, and economics, or geography, history, and biography; or again, how to teach *English* in connection with every other subject on the programme, and so to develop the capacity and *desire* to narrate or describe accurately and vividly.

The reports of the nine conferences declare the principles on which election of studies should be introduced into secondary schools as well as into colleges; but it was left for the Committee of Ten to indicate in tabular form the manner of introducing those principles. It was the Committee of Ten which constructed, as guides for school principals and superintendents, a table exhibiting the amount of instruction — estimated by the number of weekly periods assigned to each subject — to be given in a secondary school during each year of a four-year course, on the supposition that the recommendations of the conferences were all to be carried out; and also a table showing how to give effect

to the fundamental conception of all the conferences, namely, that all the subjects which make a part of the secondary school course should be taught consecutively enough and extensively enough to make every subject yield the training it is fitted to yield. The Committee also prepared four working-programmes for a secondary school which they recommended for trial wherever the secondary school period is limited to four years. These programmes are called Classical, Latin-Scientific, Modern Languages, and English. All four may be combined in one programme with options by subject for the pupil. The most striking differences in the four programmes will be found to be the relative amounts of time given to foreign languages. The most important principle in programme-making which all the nine conferences advocate is as follows: —

> Every subject which is taught at all in the secondary schools should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil so long as he pursues it, no matter what the probable destination of the pupil may be, or at what point his education is to cease.

This was at the time a revolutionary proposal, and therefore one sure to encounter many obstacles, theoretical and practical, general and local. Nevertheless, every intelligent superintendent or principal in the country has been trying since 1893 to apply that principle in his system or his school, as fast and as far as local public opinion and local school resources permitted. The resulting improvements are already great; but much remains to be done.

It is important to notice the limits of this fundamental principle. It does not affirm that all pupils should study the same subjects, or that all pupils should pursue any given subject the same length of time. On the contrary, the conferences and the Committee of Ten believed that the utmost elasticity of programme and variety of subject should exist in every secondary school, in order that the individual pupil might enjoy an adequate freedom. It was the main object of the appointment of the Committee of Ten to procure, if possible, a higher degree of uniformity in school programmes and in requirements for admission to college than then existed; and therefore it was for the Committee to consider with special care what kind of uniformity was desirable and what undesirable. The ninety-nine teachers who constituted the Committee of Ten and its conferences said unanimously that uniformity should apply to the method of teaching and to the selection of the topics in each subject taught at all in a secondary school, but not to the selection of subjects by the individual pupil or to the length of time that the individual pupil should pursue each subject. The programmes laid down by the Committee of Ten provide the indispensable uniformity and the equally indispensable liberty. For each institution or each local school system the limitations on liberty proceed from the inevitable limitations on expenditure.

It was a striking fact that "ninety-eight teachers, intimately concerned either with the actual work of American secondary schools or with the results of that

work as they appear in students who come to college, unanimously declare (1892) that every subject which is taught at all in a secondary school should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil so long as he pursues it, no matter what the probable destination of the pupil may be, or at what point his education is to cease."[1] This statement is still having a strong effect on current discussions about the point at which determinations of the probable life career should be allowed to determine the school career. A democracy naturally desires to postpone as much as possible the partings of ways.

There was another point in which the recommendations of the conferences closely resembled each other. They all, except the Greek conference, seemed to wish to get their subjects studied earlier than they were then. This general desire caused the conferences to deal considerably with the programmes of elementary schools. Indeed, some of the most interesting suggestions made by the conferences related to the primary and grammar schools. It was very plain also that the teachers interested in the subjects comparatively new in secondary schools, namely, English, the modern languages, chemistry, physics, natural history, and history wished to get their subjects placed on a perfect equality with the old subjects in school programmes, and believed that the interests of education demanded this equality. They believed that the new subjects could be made equal in dignity and difficulty to the old subjects, and

[1] From the Report of the Committee of Ten.

therefore equal in training-power. They also believed that they could be made equal, if not superior, in interest or power to attract and hold the attention of pupils. They did not ask that all subjects receive equal attention in a given school or from a given pupil. Evidently to the establishment of an equality among subjects an approximate equality of time-allotment is essential, hence the importance of the function of the Committee of Ten in suggesting time-allotments. No comprehensive policy in regard to the comparative treatment of different subjects can be properly carried out without careful attention to the subject of time-allotments.

The report of the Committee of Ten pointed out that, on adding up all the claims for time on secondary school programmes which resulted from the combined recommendations of the conferences, the total amount was by no means out of the question for many schools, even if their pecuniary resources could not be increased. Indeed, it appeared that this sum total was exceeded in several American secondary schools already, and among these schools were to be found public schools as well as endowed academies. These facts were a welcome surprise to most of the members of the Committee of Ten. It should be borne in mind, however, that in any school which is competent to provide the number of weekly school periods demanded by all the conferences, selection of studies for the individual pupil becomes inevitable. Of course, any school can make the selection by establishing different four-year courses for pupils of different destinations. The uniformity which

is desirable to procure all over the country is uniformity of teaching-methods by subject and of the sequence of subjects by year. Such uniformity would greatly improve the relations between secondary schools and colleges, and would also diminish the losses which now result from the frequent transfers of pupils from country to city, or from one city to another over the broad national area.

There is another important improvement in American education which may be hoped for as a result of that degree of uniformity in school programmes which the Committee of Ten recommended; and already some gains have been made in this respect. Among the colleges, universities, technical schools, and agricultural schools of the country there has existed a considerable variety of admission requirements by groups. A candidate for admission who proposes to study for the degree of Bachelor of Arts must conform to higher admission requirements than a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy or Bachelor of Science. The degree of Bachelor of Agricultural Science may be obtained on still lower admission-terms. Yet there is little difference of age in the candidates for these various degrees. The great majority of American colleges and universities admit to the freshman class, or indeed to a higher class, on the certificates of the schools in which the candidate was prepared.

The adoption of the recommendations made by the nine conferences and the Committee of Ten in respect to secondary-school programmes, the methods of teach-

ing each subject, and the establishment of equality in dignity and time-allotment among the various subjects taught in secondary schools would contribute very much to the abolition in American higher education of the evils just described. It should make no difference to a college or scientific school whether a given candidate for admission had studied one set of eight or nine subjects recommended by the conferences for a four-year course, or another set of equal value. Much progress has been made in this matter since 1893; but it is obvious that much remains to be done before the equality of the Latin-Scientific, Modern Languages, and English programmes with the Classical can be established in practice. The thing desirable is that close connection be established between the secondary schools and the institutions of higher education by making requirements for admission to the higher match requirements for graduation at the lower.

The nine conference reports are full of hope and promise for the future. Whoever reads them to-day with an open mind cannot fail to see that great improvements in American education have resulted from their suggestions, worked out or applied by thousands of teachers and school and college officials by slow degrees and painful steps. The achievements of these teachers and officials are great already and will stimulate their successors in the same fine enterprise.

It remains to consider the improvements in American education which have taken place, or are in near view,

since the United States went to war with Germany in April, 1917, that is, during the four most pregnant years in American history. Congress and the Administration united in a strenuous endeavor to create a huge national army quickly by draft. The examinations which drafted men were required to undergo revealed two facts about the mass of the population included in the draft, which took the people of the United States and its Government by surprise, and made them both eager for remedies. The first was the amount of illiteracy. The second was the amount of venereal disease. Two prompt conclusions were arrived at. First, that the education of the entire people could not be left exclusively in the hands of the States and the municipalities, but must be treated as a fundamental national interest. Secondly, that the entire army and navy must be instructed, in their camps and cantonments, in the means of avoiding and preventing venereal diseases, in order that the army in France might be kept fit to fight. Some guidance to this latter resolution had come earlier from the official reports from Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War in President Taft's Cabinet, who had published the fact that the American regular army of that day suffered more from venereal diseases than any other army in the world; and from the action of Commanders of the National Guard which made part of the force that in 1912 guarded the Mexican boundary, these commanders having shown how to protect their men from the portable villages of prostitutes which were promptly established in the immediate vicinity of

the camps, and with which the officers of the regular army had no disposition to interfere. The instruction administered to the army was of the crudest sort; for it was given to the men through a dictation by young officers from small hastily prepared manuals, which, however, were written by competent persons. The camps and cantonments in this country were energetically defended against both brothel and saloon, on the ground that each fed victims to the other. These measures proved remarkably effective; and the American people drew the conclusion that it was not only desirable but feasible to prevent venereal diseases in the mass of the population on a great scale. Hence a resolution on their part that the needed instruction on this subject should be given thereafter in all American schools, as part of a universal course on biology and public health. The accomplishment of this purpose is well under way, though by no means completed.

At the same time many non-governmental agencies set to work to contend against the evil of illiteracy. The Young Men's Christian Association became active in the work of teaching recent immigrants from alien races the English language and the elements of civics, winning to their classes both young men and adults. Numerous cosmopolitan clubs were organized in factory towns in the eastern part of the country, which devoted themselves to similar kinds of teaching. The chief emphasis was placed on the teaching of the English language, and during the years which have elapsed since the Armistice, much success has attended these efforts.

This success is a strong encouragement to the idea dawning among thinking Americans that popular education should by no means be confined to children under fourteen or under eighteen, or to young people under twenty-four, but should be carried forward by evening schools, Saturday classes, and vacation schools, after regular attendance at school or college has ceased. Immediate results appear in the raising of the age of compulsory attendance at school; in the creation of the junior high school; of the evening classes in technical institutes, for boys and young men who are already at work in trades; and in the many offerings by universities of short courses in medicine, business administration, teaching, and engineering specialties for men who have already entered on the practice of their professions. The national government, the states, and various institutions of higher education are already offering numerous courses of this nature for adults. Progress in this direction is greatly stimulated by the new dangers that threaten democracy. The labor troubles, for example, proceed from a lack of intelligence and reasoning power in large bodies of voters, who may be consumers, employers, or employees. The recent enactments about the tariff have similar sources in the ignorance and lack of reasoning power among millions of our people. The only way to overcome these evils which result from the general lack of trained senses, practice in reasoning, and trustworthy information, is to strengthen the education of both the young and the adult.

A small amount of schooling was enough for the voters of town meetings in the New England of two hundred years ago, or one hundred years ago. It is not enough for the voters of continental United States to-day, who are called upon to act by their votes, or by the votes of the representatives they select, on national and international problems which are both strange and vast — too vast indeed for experienced statesmen as well as for the populace. Even in the comparatively simple field of military and naval operations, the Great War produced no military or naval commander competent to deal with the vast extensions of area and extraordinary novelties in modern warfare. In the same way no religion, Confucian, Buddhist, Brahman, Mohammedan, or Christian, has developed during the past seven years any new strong hold, either on its own people or the other peoples. At this moment all the Christian churches, denominations, or sects are wondering how they can recover their former hold on their several bodies or groups. Every secular or religious organization and every state or nation seems to need more intelligence, more vision, and more sense of duty toward the high calls of honor and conscience. There is but one road upward — more education, and wiser.

The national government has for many years maintained scientific establishments for national uses, such as the United States Coast Survey, the Naval Observatory, the Boards for maintaining a national quarantine, and the various bureaus in the Departments of Agriculture, the Interior, and the Treasury, which deal with

conservation, forestry, parks, and irrigation. The war added greatly to the number of applied-science commissions in the government service, such as the commissions on explosive engines, aëroplanes, and poison gas. Some of these scientific activities have survived the Armistice, particularly those which affect the education of the people and the public health. Besides the national government, several states have taken on new functions in support of popular education. For example, Massachusetts has passed a carefully considered law which helps the schools of rural communities practically at the expense of the urban. Large appropriations have already been made by Congress, to be distributed by a national health board or commission among the states which are prepared to coöperate with the government in treating and preventing diseases. Although national aid to universal physical training is not yet consummated, it is plain that before long the national government will distribute such aid, and the states carry the beneficent plan into execution. This great improvement, though suggested by the experience of the nation at war, is really a great step forward toward national health and happiness, and industrial efficiency.

The national efficiency in time of war called for the service of experts in great variety, chemists, physicists, biologists, psychologists, and engineers; and the whole people acquired a new sense of the value of experts, and of the institutions which train them. There have resulted extensive improvements in those institutions. A curious case of carrying over into peace times a war

invention, is the use of the psychological tests applied to the classification of recruits for the army and navy to the classification of school children.

Since 1914 financial and manufacturing corporations have manifested an increasing desire for graduates of colleges or technical schools as managers, superintendents, and employment agents. Many of these corporations affirm that the kind of managers and superintendents now needed cannot be brought up in the works, but must have received an appropriate training in good secondary schools, colleges, technical schools, or the graduate departments of universities.

Seeing these things, intelligent parents keep their children at school as long as they can, instead of putting them to earn money for the family as soon as the law allows, or before. Hence the extraordinary resort to colleges and technical schools since the Armistice, and the vigorous efforts to raise new endowments for these institutions, many of which have been highly successful.

These achievements and tendencies loudly proclaim that secondary schools and all the institutions of higher education have made great gains since the twentieth century opened, and are going to make many more as the twentieth century advances.

It remains to mention the remarkable educational enterprise on which the democratic government of the United States has embarked since it went to war with the autocratic government of Germany — the Prohibition enterprise. Prohibitory legislation began in the States, first in Maine, later in Kansas, and later still in

some Southern States. The national movement began with the war; and national scope and purpose were necessary to its success. It rests solidly on a Constitutional Amendment adopted by large majorities, and on Acts of Congress which commended themselves to both political parties, and secured strong majorities. It is a hopeful effort to teach the entire people that alcoholic drinks never do any good, usually do harm, often destroy family happiness, and as a rule impair productive efficiency in the industries of the country. This teaching, to be effectual, must ultimately be based on prolonged experience with prohibitive legislation. It involves continuous and universal instruction in the schools and homes of the rising generation — instruction both scientific and ethical. It also involves a considerable advance in the ethics of the medical and legal professions, and in their sense of responsibility to the community. No other national government, democratic or autocratic, has ever attempted such a vast philanthropic and educational enterprise.

All men and women who believe that education is the best safeguard of democracy may rest content with the progress of education in the United States since the Civil War.

LABOR PROBLEMS

THE ROAD TO INDUSTRIAL PEACE[1]

The American Government and people have gone to war with Germany without having secured any mitigation of the industrial warfare which has become chronic in the country, and exists to-day in more dangerous forms than ever before. The opposing parties — Labor on the one side and Capital on the other — are better organized than ever before; so that Labor is more aggressive and Capital more resistant than they were twenty years ago, or even ten years ago. Labor has found legislatures more and more compliant to its demands; and Capital finds its means of resisting Labor more and more hampered by the action of legislatures and civil administrations. The hasty enactment by Congress of a crude law demanded by the four railway Brotherhoods in August last was a betrayal of the interests of the people as a whole. No American and no European legislature has heretofore made such a discreditable submission to selfish and insolent demands of trades-unions as the American Congress made a year ago. So ill-considered was the law passed at the imperative order of the railway Brotherhoods that several of the objects which the union leaders intended to accomplish thereby were not accomplished; and its only immediate effect was to raise the wages of some railway employees. There is no difference between the two political parties in respect to

[1] From *The Nation's Business*, August 1917.

fishing for the Labor vote. The campaign committees of both parties have for years printed the union label on all their letterheads, circulars, and leaflets, and every "practical" politician who is a candidate for office does the same.

Since the country has gone to war with Germany there have been numerous strikes and threats of striking in industries which produce munitions and supplies for the army and navy and the acutely needed means of transportation by land and water; and no legislation to prevent such strikes, or even strikes in industries which produce or transport foods and fuel, has been suggested in any American legislature. In Great Britain the stress of war has brought about temporary agreements between the Government and the labor unions concerning work in munition factories, shipyards, transportation companies, and other means of production or transportation indispensable for the efficient conduct of the war; but even these agreements have not been uniformly observed. The labor leaders agreed to abandon during the war the right to strike, and to suspend their favorite policies of closed shop and limited output; but nevertheless numerous strikes have occurred, and many workmen refuse to work steadily, because they are able at the existing high wages to support themselves and their families by working four days a week, or four days and a half, instead of five days and a half. In other words, the industrial strife is continued in Great Britain, though with some mitigations, in spite of the great sufferings of the British people at the hands of Germany. Moreover,

the unions have only suspended the enforcement of their habitual policies for the duration of the war. At the return of peace they mean to restore the limited output and the closed shop, in spite of the obvious fact that these policies will make it impossible to maintain British industrial productiveness at the level of the war times, however sorely it may need to be maintained in order to enable Great Britain to repair the losses of the war and to meet the new competitions of the changed commercial world. As to the American trades-unions, they make no secret of their intention to maintain their restrictive and crippling policies, war or no war, and to strengthen their control of American industries by taking advantage of the necessities of the Government and the people while engaged in a critical and exhausting war. If they succeed, the United States will neither be able to carry on war effectively nor to maintain creditable standing in the international industrial competition which will set in after the close of the war.

Responsibility for the present threatening condition of the industrial strife must not be laid on the trades-unions alone. The employers or managers have also been much to blame. They have often shown themselves arbitrary, inconsiderate, and greedy; they have often been shortsighted and unintelligent; sacrificing, for example, nonunion men to union men for some immediate advantage or convenience, even when the nonunion men had come to their aid during a strike; they have often underrated the intelligence and character of their workmen, and so failed to confide to them their proper share

in the discipline of the works; they have been quick to resent complaints on the part of their employees, and slow to deal with complaints fairly; and they have tried to keep from them all knowledge of the buying and selling departments and of the accounting. Even when employing firms and corporations have paid for a fair amount of "welfare work," they have often done it in a patronizing or charitable way which self-respecting employees are apt to resent. Few employers have been willing to regard their relation to their employees as a genuine partnership. These errors, omissions, and sins on the part of employers are largely responsible for the acute state of the industrial warfare. Labor and Capital must divide between them the blame for the present unhappy and dangerous condition of the great manufacturing industries, but no one can say in what exact proportion.

The reasonable conclusion from these facts is that in a democracy the mass of the people cannot rely on their legislatures or their executives to protect them from the hardships which the industrial strife inflicts, especially when the two monopolies — Labor and Capital — combine temporarily to reduce output and raise costs and therefore prices. Such combinations between Labor and Capital are never long-lived; but when these two combatants do make a truce, and combine to get and divide "all the traffic will bear," they inflict great hardships on the mass of the people. Yet the people take no effective measures to prevent such combinations, or indeed to resist the steady encroachment of the trades-unions on the rights of the people at large.

What is the reason for this inaction on the part of the American people and their representatives, and on the part also of the British people and their representatives? The main reason is that a great many people in the free nations have come to the conclusion that the mere payment of weekly wages by employers, who constitute a small minority of the population, to employees, who constitute the great majority, does not afford a basis for a just and humane organization of industrial society, because it does not bring about identity of motive for fidelity and zeal in employers and employed alike, or community of interest and feeling between them. When, therefore, the employees say they are entitled to receive a larger share of the value of the product of the factory, machine-shop, mill, or mine in which they work than the weekly pay-roll represents, and the employer maintains that, since he takes all the risks of the business and has no certain income from it, he is entitled to all the profit there is in the years when there is a profit, high or low, since all the profit is due to his intelligence, foresight, and enterprise, many disinterested and benevolent people sympathize with the employees rather than with the employer.

It is this profound dissatisfaction with the bare wage system which causes much of the unrest among the working people in the large industries of the manufacturing nations, and prevents efficient action by legislatures and courts against the wrong and injurious practices of the trades-unions. Careful observers also perceive that in the long run and large scale Capital is stronger than Labor in fight — unless interfered with by

government — and therefore tend to support Labor in each special contest as "the under dog." Other excellent and far-seeing people have come to the conclusion that there ought to be a more even division between Labor and Capital of the proceeds of their combined efforts, and that the welfare and happiness of the entire community would be promoted by a more equitable division.

Another reason for the inaction of the great majority of the American people in seeking remedies for the industrial warfare is that they do not understand the moral and material destructiveness of some of the trades-unions' policies. They do not understand that the closed shop is an effective weapon of the labor union for the establishment of a complete monopoly of the labor in a given trade. They do not know that the policy of limited output not only interferes with individual liberty, but demoralizes every worker who puts it into practice. They do not realize that a boycott is an illegal attack on independent producers or merchants in order to compel them to submit to union rules concerning industrial production. They do not know that the union label is next to the closed shop the most effective weapon for securing to the labor union in any trade a complete monopoly.

In general, the people of a free country have a cordial hatred of monopolies, because monopolies limit their liberty in buying and selling. Americans as a rule dislike very much to find that there is only one person or organization of whom they can buy an article they want, or only one person or organization to whom they can sell what they themselves produce. Nevertheless, neither

the Americans nor the British have taken effectual means to prevent monopolies of labor in the great industries of the two countries. They see that the labor unions, since they entered about a hundred years ago upon the industrial warfare, have accomplished much good for the laboring class; that they have gradually shortened the unreasonably long hours of labor to which the laboring man formerly submitted; that they have succeeded in raising the wages of men and women who spend their lives in laborious, monotonous, or unwholesome tasks; that they have contributed to prevent the overworking, or premature working, of women and children in factories. They do not see that the present policies and efforts of the labor unions are now directed to the selfish ends of a comparatively small class; and that the organizations of Labor, natural and indeed indispensable as they are in trades as in professions, and permanently useful as they might be, are now advocating policies and cherishing aims which are not consistent with the common welfare.

Out of this industrial strife is it possible that an enduring peace can now be brought forth? It is clear that real public happiness cannot possibly grow out of it; and yet it is the object of a democracy to promote the highest welfare and happiness of the multitude. A democracy reasonably endeavors to secure for each individual citizen liberty under law, stability of employment, the hope of improving his lot, and an active good will of the individual toward others and of others toward him. Each of these conditions of public happiness is indispensable.

Liberty is indispensable; for the love of freedom is so ingrained in modern civilized society that the abridgment of personal freedom is everywhere recognized as an obstacle to the winning of either private or public happiness. Again, a just and enjoyable social state depends on the permanent settlement of families where they can live in security and freedom, with their breadwinners earning steadily in stable occupations the means of livelihood and education. Nomad life cannot yield real social welfare in the modern sense, no matter whether the wandering be from hunting-ground to hunting-ground, or pasture to pasture, or factory to factory.

The hope of improving one's lot is indispensable. If the social structure is built in permanent, impermeable layers, as in the feudal system, or the Indian caste system, this hope cannot spring up, or can animate only a few. And good will is indispensable. Public happiness is impossible in a state in which employers and employed, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, are in a chronic condition of mutual distrust.

If we abandon all expectation of putting an end to the industrial warfare through legislation or any other political action, to what social forces can we turn in the hope of abating or mitigating the industrial strife and its unhappy consequences? Promising action in that direction is even now open alike to employers, employees, and consumers, within the permitted range of private action, and without the necessity of procuring any special aid from legislatures, courts, or governmental administrations; but the initiative in such action must be taken by

the employers. It is for them to introduce into the industries which they direct the changes which would enable their employees by their skill, energy, and fidelity to attain to a reasonable moral freedom in daily labor, to a settled home with steady work, to an expectation of improvement in their lot, to a sentiment of loyalty to the person, firm, or corporation which employs them, and to a state of good will between themselves and their employer. These motives and influences are strong toward developing character and winning happiness. They characterize all the higher occupations of men, such as the learned and scientific professions, the whole business of education, and the functions of the father and mother of a family. Real content in the daily labor is the object to be aimed at in all efforts for putting an end to the industrial warfare. One would suppose from the incessant efforts of the labor unions to reduce the number of working hours in the day that labor was a curse. On the contrary, willingness to labor steadily and the capacity to do so are the foundations of the superiority of civilized mankind over savage. It is the spirit in which he works steadily, and the conditions — wholesome or unwholesome — under which the earning of a livelihood is accomplished which make the difference between the happy workman and the unhappy, no matter what the occupation. A large part of the continuous education of a normal human being ought to be derived from the daily work through which he gains his livelihood. If that work is habitually done in a discontented and disloyal spirit it will have no sound educative effect,

but on the contrary will degrade the worker, and dry up some of the best sources in his nature of satisfaction and happiness.

The immediate problem before the managers of the great factory, mining, and transportation industries of the modern world is to determine how the good will of the men and women at work can be increased. Profit-sharing is the best method of bringing to bear on the employee the same motives that govern the employer and giving him a sustained interest in his daily work. There is no single method of profit-sharing which can be used in all businesses, and the method is not applicable at all to industries which are not conducted for a profit, such as government works, public schools, hospitals, dispensaries and asylums, colleges and universities, and domestic service. Each business must have a profit-sharing method of its own, and each factory, mine, or railroad must contrive that method of profit-sharing which will best develop among its employees that good will which is necessary to content in the kind of labor which it requires. The division of profits should come once or twice a year as a clean addition to the wages the employee has received, and the amount of the dividend should be a considerable percentage of the wages paid to each individual during the year or the six months. A percentage of five to eight per cent a year — which is usually satisfactory to owners or shareholders — will not affect operatives or mechanics strongly enough to yield all the good effects of profit-sharing. This percentage need not be steady, that is, without change from

year to year. On the contrary, a percentage which varies with the success of the business — sometimes high, sometimes low — is more attractive and influential than a steady, moderate percentage. It is not necessary that all the employees of a given works should receive a profit dividend. No one ought to receive it who has not been at least a year in the service of the firm or company; and no one should receive it who has not been continuously in service during the period for which the profit dividend is declared, unless indeed he be absent on account of temporary illness. Under a successful profit-sharing system the employee will feel that he is in reality working as a partner in the business, and that his wages are merely an advance of a portion of his earnings, made to him because he cannot, like the employer, wait a year or six months for the whole of his share. Under this system, the motive of the employee for doing his best and helping to make the industry successful is precisely the same as that of the manager or owner, and from this identity of motive results a good will which increases to a degree truly wonderful the efficiency of the establishment.

Both parties to an efficient production of salable goods understand that the divisible profits are to be determined in the future, in the coming twelve months or six months, by faithful work on the part of all hands. The men feel that they want to do a good day's work because they are not only going to get their wages for that day's work, but they are also going to get a profit which will be large in proportion to the success of the factory as a whole.

The effect of profit-sharing by a portion of the workmen employed in a given mill or factory is very strong on the men who are not yet profit-sharers. It is the interest of all the profit-sharers that all the workers in the factory should do a good day's work; and they do their best to procure that result. They watch, stimulate, and help those members of the corps who are not yet profit-sharers. They also are interested to see that persons who are not profitable to the works be not retained in the employ; because such persons diminish the profits of the profit-sharers.

It is the interest of the profit-sharers to stop all wastes in the factory. That is a state of mind which no rise of wages without profit-sharing will ever bring about. Workmen on a profit-sharing basis will do disagreeable jobs contentedly, if assured that they are more profitable than the more agreeable jobs. Profit-sharers will also suggest to owners improvements in the methods or machinery of the business, if they think they have discovered any.

Profit-sharing cannot be successfully applied in any business or industry that is not tolerably continuous and stable, and as a rule successful. It implies on the part of the workmen confidence in the good faith, discretion, and business capacity of the manager or owner; and this confidence must be the result of the business experience and character of the manager or owner, understood and appreciated by the workmen. Profit-sharing can be applied to large numbers of employees or to small numbers, to the whole body of employees or to a part of

it, and to men or to women. Some successful schemes apply only to the sales department, others only to the operatives and not to the office employees. All profit-sharers will resist what they consider unnecessary enlargements of the working force. Women profit-sharers will overwork themselves in times of stress, particularly in seasonal industries, unless restrained.

These advantages of profit-sharing result from permanent good qualities in civilized mankind, which can be trusted to work well universally; but profit-sharing cannot bring about with certainty good relations between employer and employed without the aid of other just and humane methods in the conduct of the business concerned. Thus, the actual working force in any industry, large or small, ought to have a share in the discipline of the works, that is, in making and enforcing the rules under which workmen live. This coöperative management is easily brought about through a committee on which the managers or owners and the working force are equally represented. Ample experience in this country has already proved that complaints will be properly dealt with and adequate discipline maintained by a committee so constituted, if the head of the business be wise and fair. The workmen elect their representatives on the committee and the managers appoint their delegates. Success has often been attained when the workmen had a majority on the managing committee. The one thing essential to success in coöperative management is that both sides should feel that the coöperation is genuine and single-minded. Again, British experience during the

Great War, and much American experience as well, has proved in the amplest manner that what has been called welfare work on behalf of the employees in factory industries is an indispensable means of procuring high efficiency in an industrial establishment, and should be steadily carried on as a business method and not a charitable one. This welfare work comprehends watchful attention to the health and safety of employees, to the comfort and wholesomeness of their homes, to their schools, churches, playgrounds, clubs, and means of entertainment. It should include attention to the site — in town or country, city or suburb — of the mill, factory, or machine shop, and the physical surroundings of the works. It should include also the subdivision of a large plant into sections small enough to enable each section superintendent to have much personal contact with all the employees. In the factory industries there is no substitute for the liking of the employees for the owner, manager, or superintendent, a liking based on his personal knowledge and sympathetic treatment of them and their families; just as in military organizations there is no substitute for the attachment of the privates in a company or regiment to their immediate commander, or for the admiration and confidence that an army feels for the commander-in-chief.

Another adjunct of profit-sharing which develops stability, loyalty, and good will in a working force is a pension system; but a pension system cannot be used except by a corporation or institution which has a visible durability or permanence which all people expect it to main-

tain. It cannot be used by a single owner or group of owners who cannot make sure of perpetuity. In solid and durable institutions like universities, government bureaus, and semipublic corporations which have long carried on successfully great transportation systems by land or sea, a good pension system has admirable effects on the continuous vitality and efficiency of a long-service staff; but there are many firms and corporations which cannot use it in support of a profit-sharing scheme.

Still another useful adjunct of profit-sharing is the sale at a reduced price of stock of the employing corporation to superintendents, foremen, salesmen, and head clerks, or indeed to any competent employee who wishes to buy. The reduction in price ought to be sufficient to cover ordinary fluctuations in the price of the stock. This method is applicable, like a pension system, only in a durable and presumably profitable business not liable to heavy fluctuations in the market price of its stock. It has this inconvenience, that if the market price does drop much below the price at which the directors sold the stock to their employees, the directors may feel under obligation to buy the stock back.

None of these adjuncts to profit-sharing can bring industrial peace without the profit-sharing, that is, without the genuine partnership of Labor with Capital.

Employers who are thinking of setting up an appropriate profit-sharing plan in their own business should clearly understand that the sharing of profits does not imply the sharing of losses also. Loss-sharing is ordinarily impossible for wage-earners. Their savings or

accumulations are insufficient; so married men and men past the prime of life would not be justified in taking such risks for their families or for themselves. Moreover, losses in well-established businesses are usually due, not to the workmen, but to the managers, who have failed in foresight, judgment, or promptness in adapting an old business to new conditions. So far as employees are concerned, a year of loss has to be treated as a year of no profits. An employer who really believes that every partner who shares profits must also share losses had better give up all thought of establishing a profit-sharing plan in his business.

Profit-sharing appeals to the best human motives, motives which build up the individual and his family, and tend to the improvement of a workingman's condition in life and that of his wife and children. On the other hand, most of the present policies of the labor unions, such as the limitation of output, the prohibition of zealous labor, the striving for a monopoly of the labor in a given trade, and the indifference to industrial wastes and losses defeat the play of good motives in human nature. Profit-sharing, with coöperative management and intelligent welfare work, is capable of bringing into play in all levels of industrial life the motives which develop humane, civilized, and improving conduct and character. It gives play to the motive of loyalty without which it is difficult to conceive how anybody can work happily.

Finally, it affords the best possible means of promoting good will between employers and employed; and the promotion of that good will is the only funda-

mental way to cure the industrial warfare, just as the promotion of good will among nations is the ultimate means of preventing international warfare. Profit-sharing prompts men to steady industry, and to fidelity and loyalty in work by appealing primarily to love of gain, but also to wholesome ambition and family love. These are the leading motives of civilized life.

The owners of a business who should adopt profit-sharing with coöperative management, welfare work, and a pension system would have to look forward to their operatives getting a larger share of the profits of the business than they now receive on a plain wage system; but it does not follow that the owners' profits would shrink. The productiveness of the works might easily increase so much under a sound profit-sharing system that the earnings of capital and management would rise as well as the earnings of labor. Zeal and good will on the part of the laborers reduce cost and increase product vastly more effectively than any other influences. The owners would reap other considerable advantages. Their working force would be much more stable; their business would be more regular in normal times, because of the greater stability of the working force; if conditions changed or new demands arose, their business could be modified or transformed rapidly, because all the profit-sharers would be eager to maintain the profits of the business, and therefore to make quickly all needed transformations. But above all, the owners would gain a new and great satisfaction, that of coöperating heartily with a contented and happy body of employees.

If the business men of the United States can accomplish in these ways the abolition of the industrial warfare, they will give the world another demonstration — the war has already given a superb one — that democratic government promotes national efficiency better than any other form of government — a demonstration which would contribute largely to the freedom and happiness of mankind.

PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT STRIKES [1]

Until recently, the mass of the American people has usually felt a general sympathy with working men and women who have struck for higher wages, shorter hours, or wholesomer conditions of daily work. They have commonly believed that for many years the strike was the only means on the part of the laboring people of resistance to intolerable evils which the factory system, with steam-driven machinery, introduced first into England and later into the United States. They have believed that, on the whole, strikes have done more good than harm to the mass of the people, in spite of the serious losses and injuries to the whole community which invariably accompany them. Until recently, most American communities, afflicted with a strike in some locally important industry, have taken the matter patiently, and have desired and promoted a speedy settlement with some moderate advantage for the strikers, in spite of the frequent lawlessness which strikers have exhibited.

Within the past six years the opinions and settlements of the mass of the American people about strikes have been undergoing a remarkable change, slowly at first, but lately rapidly. Why?

In the first place, the whole people have come to see that of late the object in view in most strikes is higher

[1] From the *Boston Herald*, March 7, 1920.

pay, not wholesomer or happier conditions of work, and that the demand for higher pay recurs at short intervals in spite of the following demonstrated facts: —

1. A good proportion of workmen in trades which habitually force higher pay by strikes is investing considerable savings in Liberty bonds, in savings-bank deposits, and the stocks of the companies which employ them. Wages must have been therefore high enough to permit the frugal-minded to make satisfactory savings.

2. Thousands of comparatively recent immigrants have been sending back to relatives and friends in Europe and the Near East, since August 1914, large savings made while at work in this country — a performance highly to their credit. These remittances amount to many millions of dollars, so many, indeed, that they have been complained of — unreasonably — as a serious drain on the resources of the United States. They prove, at any rate, that these alien workmen have been earning here much more than they need for their own support.

3. Another fraction of the working people who strike at short intervals for more pay have been already receiving wages so high that they can give themselves and their families all the comforts and luxuries they want in the wages they earn in five days or even four days a week. Accordingly, they work only five or four days in the week, and short days at that. Great Britain has suffered much more than America from the diminished production which results from this frame of mind among miners, mechanics, and operatives of the less intelligent

and ambitious sort; but this evil is already formidable in the United States.

4. Another large part of the industrial workers of America and Great Britain have been demonstrating year after year the adequacy of their wages by indulging in extraordinary wastefulness and extravagance in their personal and family expenditures. This extravagance is chiefly exhibited in the purchase of high-priced furniture, jewelry, pianos, phonographs, gowns, footwear, and furs, and in the incessant resort of themselves and their families to moving pictures, theatres, and shops for candies, drinks, and dear fruits. It cannot be that people who spend their money in this way are in any need of higher wages. Nevertheless, they keep striking for them.

These facts tend to convince all sorts of people that high wages produce high costs of living quite as distinctly and inevitably as high prices of commodities necessitate or justify high wages. Hence, the mass of the people are getting more critical than they used to be about strikes for more pay in the fundamental industries which yield the necessaries of life.

Secondly, a decided majority of the American people have of late experienced a new difficulty in owning houses and small shops, and in living in houses of their own. On account of the exorbitant wages in all the building-trades and in some of the trades which supply building-materials, innumerable American families find themselves obliged to move from their own houses into hired tenements which are much less desirable as regards space, light, air, and the other means of bringing up children

in a healthy way. This is a grievous descent in dignity, independence, and comfort; and it affects every class in urban and suburban communities, and even in small towns and villages, except the downright rich. Wherever a plumber, electrician, gasfitter, painter, furnace- and stove-maker, mason, or joiner charges from 80 cents to $1.25 an hour, there the American family is forced into narrow, crowded, hired quarters; unless by good fortune or the gift of nature the householder can himself practise two or three of these fundamental trades. This degradation of family life is resented by the average American family which has children, and induces in them serious distrust of the prevailing wage-raising processes in trades which have to do with such necessaries of life, in the climate of the United States, as shelters, fuels, foods, and transportation. The average American reflects that high wages in building-trades have at least one drawback, for people in other trades or occupations — they raise rents, prevent new building, and congest the population.

Thirdly, most Americans have within five years had abundant opportunities to observe that high and ever higher wages do not in themselves result in larger national production or any greater good will between employer and employed. Taken in connection with trades-unionism's teachings on limited output, short hours, and "going slow" in order to leave more chance for the unemployed to get employment, high wages and the incessant raising of wages now seem to most Americans to have no tendency to promote industrial peace, to in-

crease national production and wealth, or to cultivate habits of thrift in the major part of the population. On the contrary, the recent results of trades-union doctrine — progressive raising of wages, shortening of hours, and strikes — seem to most industrious and thoughtful Americans to result in poor work, less work, and chronic discontent in many important industries. Hence, the American people by common accord are reconsidering their previous attitude toward strikes and toward the labor organizations which use strikes to promote that domination of all the principal industries to which they aspire.

A great change in strikes and their potential results has taken place since the nineteenth century closed. A strike used to be directed against a single railroad, steamship company, factory, or mine-owner. Its effects were usually limited to one locality or to some relatively small area. The trades-union organization has now been so far perfected and its power so centralized, that a nation-wide strike can be called in several of the most indispensable industries of the country, such as coal-mining or the whole railroad system, for example.

When the four railroad Brotherhoods forced Congress in August 1916, to pass by a given minute on a given day the Adamson bill, which established a "basic" eight-hour day, the formidable threat they used so successfully was that they would tie up the entire railroad transportation throughout the country. Ever since that noteworthy performance, many millions of thinking Americans have been considering whether any small group of

labor leaders, even if they did lead five hundred thousand men, ought to possess such a power over the lives and fortunes of the hundred millions of Americans. The Adamson law proved to be a law, not to shorten hours, but to enable railroad men to earn very high wages by working overtime at one-and-a-half or double rates. It was to increase the pay of railroad employees that the railroad Brotherhoods threatened to stop all American industries and trade, and distress all American families and institutions of religion, education, and charity which depend on the railroads to bring them food and fuel. The chances are that sound public opinion in the United States has decided already that in the interest of the entire community no group or class ought to possess such a power.

American thinking about strikes has also been greatly stimulated and altered by the active efforts which the American Federation of Labor has lately made to organize labor in various callings or occupations which have thus far rejected trades-unionism, and to bring the unions formed therein under the control of the Federation. These efforts have been successful in many cases within the last three years; so that the American public has seen unions chartered by the Federation among musicians, actors, policemen, firemen, engineers for pumping public water-supplies, and public-school teachers; and they have had opportunity to witness the effects of strikes in some such occupations or services. The prompt effects of strikes by policemen, firemen, and engineers employed by public water-boards have con-

vinced the great majority of the American people that strikes are and ought to be inadmissible in such services. The movement of American opinion in this direction is well-nigh universal. Nevertheless, the recognized leaders of organized labor, including the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the heads of the railroad Brotherhoods, do not accept, as a rule, this verdict of public opinion in which many of their own rank and file cordially join. Here is a potent reason for some of the new reflections among thinking men and women about strikes and government by strikes.

The first industrial conference called by President Wilson, which sat from October 6 to October 24, 1919, was called "for the purpose of discussing the labor situation in the country and the possibility of formulating plans for the development of a new relationship between capital and labor." This conference was unfortunately, though perhaps inevitably, organized in three groups representing respectively labor, capital, and the public; its important committees were constituted in like manner. The rules it hastily adopted — they had apparently been prepared before the conference met by some private committee — prescribed that every vote should be taken by groups, and that all three groups must concur in every valid decision of the conference. A majority of the number of members in any one group could therefore prevent action by the conference on any subject.

As a consequence of its original structure and the nature of its own rules, the conference never paid even

a moment's attention to "formulating plans for the development of a new relationship between capital and labor." It fought anew over subjects of past conflict between capital and labor, the existing steel strike, and some other threatened or imminent strikes; but never gave a thought to the bringing in of any "new relationship between capital and labor." In eighteen days it convinced its own members and the public that it was an impotent and hopeless assemblage; and it apparently convinced President Wilson that the three-group structure of an industrial conference was not a wise or promising one. At any rate, he organized his second industrial conference in a totally different manner; for it is supposed that all the members of the new conference represent the public interests.

The first conference was broken up on October 23 by the deliberate withdrawal of the labor group in spite of an earnest appeal from the President of the United States that the conference continue in session, an appeal written from his sick-bed, and urged upon the conference and the labor group in particular by the Secretary of the Interior, who was the elected chairman of the conference. This action convinced the members of the conference, and a large number of other persons interested in industrial peace, that the American Federation of Labor and the four Brotherhoods, as represented by their leaders, still cling to the belief that, by means of nation-wide strikes in industries which deal with the necessaries of life, they can acquire before long a dominating control over all the ordinary occupations and interests of the

mass of the people, and thence over the government itself. With the acquisition of that control would go the regulation of wages, hours of labor, and the distribution of the products of labor, and hence of family and community life. Every citizen, indeed, would be personally regulated.

Needless to say that most Americans do not relish this prospect. If reduced to such a hard choice, — they do not mean to be, — they would much prefer government domination to the domination of the Federation of Labor or the four Brotherhoods.

The group representing capital, on the other hand, manifested in a decided majority of its members a profound distrust of the sincerity and candor of the representatives of labor, individually and as a group. They refused assent to every proposition which the labor group brought before the conference, however moderately expressed, and manifested much confidence in the combined power of the association of financiers, farmers, and manufacturers to defeat the plans of the American Federation of Labor and the four railroad Brotherhoods. The first paper read to the conference on behalf of the capital group gave notice of the combative and inaccessible frame of mind which characterized the group. Neither the labor group nor the capital group manifested any disposition to take up even the preliminary discussion of new relations between employers and employed. The general committee, whose function it was to prepare the measures selected by them for consideration by the conference, being constituted in the

three-group form, never recommended for discussion in the conference a single measure relating to the future.

The proceedings of the President's first industrial conference therefore suggest emphatically that in boards or tribunals intended to make settlements of industrial disputes the disputants themselves, far from sitting on the bench, should only be represented by counsel of their own choosing, and should appear as witnesses only. To have suggested that is a real contribution to the cause of industrial peace. Another contribution was the revelation, through several warm declarations made by labor members, of the hostility of organized labor to all forms of coöperative management, such as shop committees, company unions, and stated conferences of manager, foremen, and elected representatives of the whole body of workmen in a single plant. These methods or measures, which are engaging the attention of many progressive employers, are anathema to organized labor, or at least to the leaders they now recognize.

The President's second industrial conference issued on December 19 a preliminary statement concerning its work up to that date, for which it asked a "considerate study by interested individuals and organizations throughout the country." This statement opens with a page and a half called "Introduction," which is apparently the work of several hands, since the proposals and hopes of the conference are stated in different passages, not only in different terms, but in a different spirit. Thus, it is said that the conference "believes that its most important immediate contribution is the sugges-

tion of practical measures which will serve to avert or postpone industrial conflicts," and that it is "going to confine itself to the proposal of machinery for the adjustment of disputes." On the other hand, the conference also expresses its belief that "it is possible to set up a more effective series of tribunals for the adjustment of disputes than at present exists"; but before describing under Section 2 its plan for boards of inquiry and adjustment, it blandly declares that its plan "does not propose to do away with the ultimate right to strike, to discharge, or to maintain the closed or open shop." In other words, its plan is not to deal fundamentally and at once with the evils which are disturbing the great American industries and threatening very untimely reduction of production, but rather to provide better means than any which now exist of settling disputes between capital and labor regarded as perpetual antagonists, and at least to secure publicity for dangerous disputes before actual war on each other and the community shall be permitted to break out. Its hope or expectation about the working of the tribunals it recommends is that through their action "the interruption of production shall be delayed."

The prime recommendation by the conference is the appointment of a national industrial tribunal as a board of appeal. This tribunal is to be made up of three representatives of employers, three representatives of employees, and three persons to be appointed by the President as representatives of the public's interests. This is the same structure which made the first industrial conference a futile body. It is to the last degree

unpromising as structure; but hope of its proving useful is also much diminished by the provision that its determination on all disputes, brought before it on appeal, shall be by unanimous vote. One man out of the nine may therefore defeat action by the tribunal. The first industrial conference was broken up by the action of the labor group. Now, the three members of the proposed national industrial tribunal who represent labor are to be appointed "upon nomination of the Secretary of Labor." Is it not perfectly plain that no decision which is adverse to the interests of organized labor will ever be made by the proposed national industrial tribunal?

The plan proposes the division of the United States into twelve regions, and the appointment by the President of the United States of one regional chairman for each region, who is to represent the public; but the national industrial tribunal may at their discretion create any number of additional regional boards under vice-chairmen. There is no provision that these vice-chairmen should represent the public; and it is apparent that a board of nine members composed of three distinct sections would have great difficulty in appointing these vice-chairmen in a satisfactory way.

It is proposed that panels of employers and employees for each region shall be prepared by the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor respectively, and that these panels shall be approved by the President of the United States. No such duty should be imposed on the President, unless with a specification of the authority

to whom the President may delegate this power. These panels are to be classified by industries and by crafts. This arrangement carries into all the regional boards the combative structure of the national industrial tribunal; and the conference advises that in these regional boards when working as a board of adjustment the determination of the board shall be by unanimous vote.

Every party to an industrial dispute can therefore submit its case to the appropriate regional board with full assurance that neither the regional board will reach unanimously a conclusion adverse to it, nor will the national tribunal, when the case is taken before it on appeal. Incidentally new and heavy duties are imposed on the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor by the proposed enactments; for the regional panels are to be revised annually by those secretaries in conference with the employers and employees respectively of each region. As these panels may become very numerous, a new and heavy burden is thus imposed on the Departments of Commerce and Labor respectively.

Each side will feel sure that it can prevent any adjustment which is unsatisfactory to itself; for either side can prevent a real settlement under the rule requiring unanimity. Nevertheless, some gain for the public might result from the existence and use of the regional boards and the national tribunal; because both sides agree when they put their case before a regional board that the submission of the issue between them for adjustment constitutes "an agreement by both sides that they will continue, or reëstablish and continue, the status that existed

at the time the dispute arose." The public may therefore expect some advantage from the delay necessarily involved in the proceedings before first the regional boards and then the national tribunal. This result would be in accordance with the modest hope expressed by the conference in the introduction: that it may suggest measures "which will serve to avert or postpone industrial conflicts."

Many persons who have come to believe that the present industrial strife is detrimental to the great majority of the American public, and ought to be studied and treated in that interest only, were hoping that the second industrial conference would accept a larger function than this delaying of industrial conflicts. They have been hoping that the conference would recommend that all industrial tribunals should invariably represent the public only, that the disputants may each employ its own counsel to present its case, and that the actual disputants, the employers on one side and the employees on the other, should appear only as witnesses. To disinterested observers of the industrial strife as conducted during the last twenty years this seems far the best way to diminish the number of industrial disputes, to settle them justly, and to protect the mass of the people from the losses and sufferings which the crude and outgrown methods of conducting industrial conflicts now inflict upon them.

It is probable that a strong majority of the American people are already prepared to advocate and support tribunals of that character.

Section 4 of the statement issued by the second indus-

trial conference inspires the hope that the conference will ultimately recommend sound legislative measures to secure the continuous operation of all public utilities. This section points out that the continuous operation of public utilities is vital to public welfare, and that the suspension of any of them produces "practically social and economic anarchy." The following statement is especially encouraging, that the present treatment of public utilities, such as railways of all sorts, and gas, light, and power companies, by both legislatures and executives works serious harm to the general public: — "The interruption in such essential public utilities is intolerable."

In Section 5, which relates to government employees, there is another hopeful statement to the effect that no government employees who are concerned with the administration of justice or the maintenance of public safety or public water-supplies should be permitted to join or retain membership in any organization which orders or authorizes strikes, or which is affiliated with any organization which uses the strike. Another important sentence is to the effect that no interference with the continuous operation of government functions through concerted cessation of work or threats thereof can be permitted. These statements will doubtless be acceptable to a very great majority of the American people, including the greater part of the working class commonly spoken of as labor, organized or unorganized. Indeed, the people are longing for exemption from strikes on foods, fuels, and the necessary means of communication, including all public utilities.

Some observers think that the application of the term "public utilities" might be extended advantageously as, for instance, to the commercial marine and to those parts of the printing-trade which are concerned with printing the daily newspapers. To many an American clerk, mechanic, or operative, his morning or evening paper seems as much a necessity as his trolley car or the telephone booth.

In the final section of its statement the conference expresses the hope that it may be able to contribute something more toward the reform which the President of the United States had in mind when he appointed the second conference. He hoped, among other things, that "the workman will feel himself induced to put forth his best efforts." That is the gist of the whole matter. Under the factory system, in which the division of labor is extreme and each workman's daily work is apt to be uninteresting or monotonous, how is the workman "to feel himself induced to put forth his best efforts"? It is obvious that the labor-union policies tend to dull the workman's ambition and his satisfaction in his work. The uniform wage, the limited output, and the recommendation of moderate or measured effort while at work all tend in the direction of no satisfaction or joy in work and, therefore, toward no good work. What the labor leaders promise to their followers is higher pay and less work, and, to a large extent, they have been successful in fulfilling this promise. Unorganized labor has availed itself of the higher wages secured through the efforts of the labor unions, to the cost of which they make no con-

tribution, and has been infected in many trades with the labor-union doctrine of "Go slow." During the war the labor-union leaders succeeded in forcing wages to an unprecedented height in all industries connected with the supply of war materials and with the means of transportation by land or water; but did not attempt to stimulate to zealous work the men and women who received these high wages.

Since peace came, the labor leaders manifest no disposition either to disuse strikes or to encourage faithful work. On the other hand, employers have undergone in many parts of the country, and in many industries, a considerable change of mind concerning the right relations between capital and labor, and are prepared to study, and to adopt after study, methods of management and regulation which, if well carried out, ought to revive in the working class as a whole the spirit of ambition, coöperation, and efficiency. The first of these methods is coöperative management, the best effect of which is to give the intelligent workman, who takes part in the management, the sense that the works in which he is employed are his works, because he is in part responsible for their successful management, and is to share in the profits which better management will produce. This sense of responsibility imparts a new interest to his working life. He wants to contribute to the stopping of waste and to the making of improvements, and particularly to the better direction or conduct of each man's or woman's work, so that it shall possess greater variety and some element of progress as years go on. In

short, it enables him, as President Wilson said, "to feel himself induced to put forth his best efforts." It makes it possible for him to have some joy in work. It gives him a chance to work in a factory with something of the content that the skillful handworker feels, and has always felt, in the process and product of his work.

Intelligent employers are also taking new interest in presenting to the minds of their employees a good chance for a better reward of their labors year by year, not regularly or monotonously, but in the long run or on the average. This is the object of profit-sharing in all industries which are conducted for a profit. It is, of course, necessary to any good effect of a profit-sharing scheme that it shall always be a hope or a confident expectation of an additional profit in the year current, or the six months to come, rather than a dividend declared on the proceedings of six months past. This, again, is in the direction of President Wilson's hope that the workman will "feel himself induced to put forth his best efforts."

Employers in considerable number have made within recent years the discovery that the best thing they can do to assure the steady success of the businesses in which they are engaged is to promote the health, comfort, and contentment of their employees by providing for them and their families medical service, good housing, good schools, wholesome recreations, and a sound community spirit, localized and yet with a broad outlook. The stability of any working corps will be greatly promoted by close attention to the health and welfare methods just mentioned; and this stability is in the highest degree

desirable in the operation of any factory, mine, or works, but also in the building of character in the human beings who provide whatever muscular and will force is indispensable to the operation of the machinery which turns out the product of the establishment. Whenever the working force in a factory becomes inconstant or nomad, the cost of production is sensibly increased, and unfortunately the morale of the working force is apt to be impaired. Therefore the stability of the working forces is a great object in any manufacturing community. To that stability coöperative management, profit-sharing, medical and nursing care, and well-managed schools powerfully contribute.

It is one of the most objectionable of labor-union demands on well-meaning employers that they shall discontinue their rather recent practice of requiring a physical examination of all applicants for employment. That examination, in prospect, sets a standard of physical and moral health which is a strong inducement to right living among multitudes of boys and girls, and also tends to protect the working force of any establishment which prescribes it from the contagious diseases of vice. That organized labor objects to it is another piece of evidence that labor leaders are less concerned about the efficiency of any body of workmen than they are about raising wages and shortening hours. The abolition of physical examination of applicants for employment being now publicly announced as a union policy, the American public can draw a safe inference as to which policy will best serve the national interests: that of well-meaning

employers or that of the labor unions. The public can be counted on to make the right decision.

The nation-wide strike on necessaries of life, including all sorts of transportation and communication, has gone far to convince the American people that they do not care to become subject to organized labor, and to make them see that the best hopes for industrial peace and prosperity lie in placing manufacturing plants (of moderate size) in villages or small towns; in managers who live with the working force; in intimacy and coöperation between managers and labor in all its subdivisions and ranks; and in attention to the individual and to small groups of superior individuals, just as in education, rather than to large blocks or groups of human beings erroneously supposed to have a uniform or average quality. In the industries of the future, uniformity as respects discipline, tasks, promotions, and rewards is going to be just as harmful as it has always been in schools, colleges, and universities.

Public opinion is now tending strongly toward the acceptance of a few general principles as to the future conduct of the manufacturing industries on which civilization has come to depend; and it is a curious outcome of the World War that effective proofs of these principles have come out of that terrific catastrophe. The first principle is that capital and labor must coöperate fairly, instead of distrusting and opposing each other. To bring about this coöperation both capital and labor must come to a new frame of mind. Owners and managers must earnestly desire to improve the men and

women they employ in respect to intelligence, knowledge of the business in which they are engaged, health, comfort, stability, and zeal in work; and labor must attain for visible reasons to a better state of mind about their liberty, their influence or control over their own personal and family lives, their responsibility for the success of the business that employs them, and their ardor and energy while at work.

Secondly, everybody realizes the necessity of new studies of the principal industries by the best experts obtainable, out of which may grow practical measures of reform. Many official and unofficial inquiries have been made into the real conditions of the principal industries during the past ten years, and still nobody can answer such questions as the following: Can the fundamental trades, like the carpenter's, mason's, plumber's, or tailor's, meet the needs of the American nation by working only eight hours a day, or can coal enough be mined for the households and industries of the whole people if the miners work well six or seven hours a day, three hundred and five days in the year? Such ignorance seems at first extraordinary, but less so when one reflects that the needs or demands of the people have been rising rapidly of late years, and that all the processes in many industries have been revolutionized during the same period. Under such changing circumstances there is the utmost need of cautious experimentation on wages, hours, and workmen's habits, and all such experimentation should have the impartial, well-studied quality called scientific. Nothing but actual trial of promising

experiments can dispel the prevailing ignorance. Manifestly, this is no field for ill-considered or violent experiments.

Thirdly, it is now universally recognized that nobody — government, corporation, or private person — can afford to pay even moderate wages for little work or bad work. Whoever perseveres in that course will sooner or later become bankrupt — the private managers first, and then the governments. Here comes in President Wilson's hope that "the workman will feel himself induced to put forth his best efforts." This is a moral or spiritual problem for the workers themselves to solve, with all possible aid from the rest of the people.

If strikes should be abandoned by labor with all the accompanying apparatus of violence, would that mean that labor unions would cease to exist? By no means. The unions would retain many functions through which they have made themselves useful for many years. They would continue to advocate government regulation of child labor and women's labor, the Old Testament law, "six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work," and equitable provisions against sickness, accident, and premature disability. Labor unions would perform all the functions which professional societies perform so well for the benefit of their members and the community, the functions of the bar associations, the medical societies, and the teachers' associations in large variety. They would continue to appeal to the public on all questions of general interest which arise between employers and employed, and would be able to increase greatly their

means of publicity if they saved their expenditures on strikes. If they had given up action that rests on violence and the infliction of widespread suffering, they would make a much stronger appeal to the general goodwill. Of course they would need a new kind of leadership; for their present leaders have grown up with the combat methods, and would doubtless find themselves wholly at a loss under the new policy of coöperation and good will.

Finally, it is not enough that every career should be open to talent, as Napoleon said. Every effort should also be made by parents, schools, foremen, inspectors, and managers to discover and help forward the talent. This policy is of the essence of democracy; the practice of it is one of the prime conditions of increasing beneficence all through democracy's future career. Democratic society must impart to the common people not only more freedom and better training than any other political and social organization has provided, but also more knowledge and skill in the manual crafts as well as in the liberal arts.

MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

THE FUTURE OF MEDICINE[1]

About prophecy, I am very much of the mind of James Russell Lowell, "Don't never prophesy onless ye know." We can, however, draw some safe inferences with regard to the future from what we have seen in the past; and a keen observer can often see a few signs of what is coming, because future events, if not too remote, do give signs of their coming.

I have had the privilege of knowing a good deal about the past sixty years of the medical profession. I appreciate fully the excellent picture which Dr. Thayer has just put before you of the medical education and the practice of medicine twenty to twenty-five years ago; and I have clearly in mind many earlier pictures of sixty, fifty, forty, and thirty years ago. I have personally witnessed large progress in the Medical School of Harvard University, in which two generations of teachers have taken part. At another medical meeting not long ago I told of some of the things I saw in the Medical School of 1869; and I noticed that the picture then painted caused some amusement among my medical audience. Indeed, some expressions of incredulity were visible — particularly in regard to the students' attending six hours of didactic lectures on end five days in the

[1] A Speech at the Harvard Medical Alumni dinner, May 12, 1917, revised from an incomplete stenographic report and reprinted in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, October 25, 1917.

week, and in regard to the extreme shortness of the required medical term, which then did not exceed four months out of the year. I noticed expressions of incredulity and amusement when I said that each candidate for graduation took nine oral examinations of five minutes each, and won his degree if he passed in five subjects out of the nine.

If I reflect on the great progress in medical education and the extensive changes in the medical profession itself since I first began to take notice of these matters, I can look forward with confidence to great progress in the future. I cannot find words to express the confidence I feel in the future progress of medicine as a science, as an art, and as the controller of many of the worst evils that afflict human society. The progress of the last sixty years, and our clear vision of the conquests still to be made should assure us all of the magnificent future of medicine.

I noticed, when Dr. Arnold was speaking, that he spoke of the Graduate School of Medicine as thus far largely a school for practitioners who come to it to refresh or extend their knowledge, and that he was not entirely content with that condition of the Graduate School. And, indeed, that new department of the Medical School should also train in higher studies an increasing number of men who have just received the degree of Doctor of Medicine; but that service to practitioners which the Graduate School is already rendering points to one of the great changes in the medical profession and to one of its best hopes. Every

ambitious and competent physician or surgeon now feels that he is going to continue the process of learning all his life, and he is going to do this with diligence and gladness. The rising schools for practitioners and the various clinics open to practitioners are going to have broad and deep effects on the practice of both medicine and surgery. Five years ago, I came to know well in China a United States Army surgeon who told me that he could not satisfy himself in the exercise of his function without going back to the clinic of the Mayo brothers at least once in three years.

One of the previous speakers alluded to my interest in preventive medicine. I have taken a strong interest in that branch of medicine; because that phrase covers an immense new service of the medical profession to the community, and much future happiness for the profession itself. To prevent evils and wrongs on a large scale by one's own personal wisdom and diligence gives even greater satisfaction than to cure individual cases of suffering from evils or wrongs, and the good done to the community by prevention is broader and ampler than the good done by curing. Within the last twenty years many new employments and serviceable positions have been opened to graduates in medicine who have made special studies in preventive medicine. Such are the chief positions in the Medical Corps of the Army and Navy, in and under Boards of Health, and in the sanitary service of cities, towns, and schools. The movement tends to the acceptance by medical men of salaries from public and semipublic boards, and from

corporations in great number, salaries which yield a sufficient though modest support for a family, and permit the recipients to devote themselves without interruption or distraction to professional work largely of a preventive character. The profession has long been familiar with service to insurance companies. It is going to become familiar with service to government — national, state, and municipal — and to corporations, educational, charitable, and commercial. I lately visited two large manufacturing corporations that were paying good salaries to medical men and nurses who devote their whole time to the corporations' workmen and their families, their services being both preventive and curative, but chiefly preventive. The indications are that in the future a larger and larger proportion of men well educated in medicine will devote themselves chiefly to preventive medicine. This change is by no means to be regretted. On the contrary, the profession and the community are to be heartily congratulated on it.

Important changes have already taken place in the private practice of both physicians and surgeons. The automobile and the telephone have enlarged the territory over which a skillful man of good quality can comfortably practise; and these new facilities promote the most cheerful, discerning, and skillful men at the expense of the less cheerful, discerning, and skillful. This change, of course, supports sound and well-directed medical education.

The private practitioner, whether physician or surgeon, is getting more and more dependent upon

laboratories, and on experts in the use of complex apparatus and in the making of complicated tests or explorations for diagnostic purposes. The family physician must employ in difficult cases experts in chemical and bacteriological examinations, and in the use of the X-ray or of the Wassermann test. For similar reasons the surgeon must employ an expert to administer anæsthetics, and to select the anæsthetic best fitted for the case in hand. When the Massachusetts General Hospital offered to any reputable physician the use of all the new and costly methods of diagnosis on his own patient at prices possible for people of moderate means, it set on foot a method of action which is going to have strong effect first, on medical practice in the country, and secondly, on the philanthropic relations of the profession to the community. We have been long familiar with the philanthropic work of the profession towards the poorest classes. We are now going to see the highest technical skill of the medical and surgical profession put at the service of the people of moderate income through their family physician, such service as only rich people have heretofore been able to pay for without serious embarrassment.

The habit of practising specialties in medicine has grown up quite within my memory, and has wrought great changes in the practice of both medicine and surgery. I recall the time when the most skillful surgeons in Boston did not venture to give up general medical practice and rely solely on their surgery, and when specialties in surgery were unknown. The

increase in the number of these, and indeed in the public appreciation of specialists, gradually led to a new method of determining fees in a part of the medical profession. Fees increased very much, not only for surgical specialists but for the obstetrician as well. Then the method of charging "what the traffic will bear" came into use. We all know that there are now some large medical establishments which proceed on that rule, taking much pains to determine what the probable or ascertainable income of the patient is. It is not clear to the learned and scientific professions at large that the honor and dignity of the medical profession have been advanced by the use of this method. More and more it is looked upon as a commercial rather than a professional method. Even in commerce or business that maxim is not in good odor. I look forward to the abandonment of that method of charging for medical and surgical services. Like all other professions, the medical profession should be well reimbursed for the long training it requires and for the slow development of a good practice; but it should always be a calling which is not pursued for the money end; and it should cultivate and live by the noble, scientific idea of giving away all knowledge the individual practitioner requires. The medical and surgical societies where medical men meet and discuss their experiences maintain the standard of the profession in this respect. The knowledge there given away becomes broadly useful.

It is one of the great privileges of professional men in general that they do not have to make the money

question a primary consideration in their careers. The making of money is not their prime object, and is not the test of their success. As I look back on my own professional career, I see clearly that one of its greatest privileges has been my comparative exemption from thought of making or multiplying money; and I can testify now after eight years of experience that to live on a pension, which is of the nature of postponed payments for services, is a very comfortable and desirable mode of life — chiefly for the reason that under such conditions one can dismiss all thought about money except the prevention of waste.

In the present crisis in the life of the American people the medical profession cannot but rejoice that it was better prepared for war service than any other profession in the country, including the military and naval profession. It was prepared to apply every medical and surgical invention of the last fifty years at once for the benefit of the army and navy. It did apply inoculation for typhoid, and conducted a successful resistance to typhus. It was already preventing yellow fever, and curing and preventing hookworm disease and malaria. It promptly demonstrated that surgery was something more than cutting off and cutting out — it could rectify and repair. It could make immediate application in war of the recently discovered improvements in orthopædic and dental surgery. The first aid which America was able to give to the European combatants was medical aid. This country is not ready yet to give effective military or naval aid; but we were ready to

send in the first year of the war doctors, surgeons, nurses, and orderlies by the thousand, thoroughly prepared to render efficient service at the great hospitals at the front or in the rear. In war as in peace, the medical profession has shown itself to be thoroughly altruistic, beneficent, and self-sacrificing.

The medical profession in America justly claims to have developed and greatly improved the vocation of nursing, and to have invented and established the district nurse, and the social worker in connection with hospitals and dispensaries. The district nurses and the social workers going out from hospitals form a new class of teachers whose contribution to the welfare of the community grows more and more important. The family physician also is becoming more and more a teacher of hygiene, a preserver of health, and an adviser in family anxieties and distresses.

The future of medicine is bright beyond compare. It is in full harmony with the democratic spirit which is pervading the world, with the new sense of human brotherhood, and with the new conviction that religion is not forms and ceremonies, or rites and dogmas, but a tolerant, friendly, and coöperative spirit, which prompts to common good works.

PRESENT AND FUTURE SOCIAL HYGIENE IN AMERICA[1]

The term Social Hygiene came into use in America through the titles of certain incorporated private societies, one national and a few chartered by States. The term got associated in the public mind chiefly with two subjects, namely, prostitution or commercialized vice, and the treatment and prevention of venereal diseases. The establishment of these societies and the organizing of their work was due mainly to the conscientious and public-spirited labors of a few physicians whose practice had made them familiar with the horrible effects of the venereal diseases on ignorant and irresponsible young men and on innocent women who were infected by their husbands. But the private societies soon took on preventive work in which social workers and benevolent men and women interested in the promotion of the public health took an active part.

When the United States went to war with Germany in April 1917, both the Army and the Navy promptly discovered that to keep the American soldier and sailor fit for fighting they must take active measures for treating and preventing venereal diseases among the men at the front and the men preparing for service in camps or barracks in this country. Hence came energetic

[1] From the *International Journal of Public Health*, Geneva, Switzerland, January–February, 1921.

action in both the Army and the Navy, which wrought sudden and great improvement in the condition of millions of enlisted men and in the civil communities, both urban and rural, with which the men were in contact. The National and State Health Services received large appropriations from Congress and several State Legislatures, and learned to coöperate for the prevention of venereal and other diseases and in general for the promotion of the public health. Congress also enacted a war prohibition-measure which turned out to be very serviceable in promoting the efficiency and health of both the Army and the Navy, and taught a striking lesson concerning the good effects of prohibition on the productiveness and health of the nation.

When the Armistice of November 11, 1918, put a stop to the actual fighting, it did not arrest the activities of the National and State organizations on behalf of public health, which the necessities of war had induced. Since that date Congress has maintained and even strengthened the public-health services of the nation, and some of the State Legislatures have followed its example. Since the Armistice admirable plans for the maintenance of clinics for the diagnosis and treatment of venereal diseases and their consequences have been devised and put into execution in both town and country by cordial coöperation between Federal and State health authorities, and already have given proof of great serviceableness. The American Social Hygiene Association, whose headquarters are in New York City, has also increased its activities, and is receiving a better pecuniary support than it has ever had before.

The objects which these various agencies pursue are no longer limited to resistance to prostitution and the venereal diseases; and their work, which at first had to be carried on with the utmost reserve and even privacy, has now become open and public, particularly in its educational features. It already includes support of all measures to deliver the American people from the evil effects of alcoholic drinks, including nation-wide prohibition thoroughly taught and effectively enforced. It is reaching out to the great subject of industrial medicine, which has been hopefully developed by a few progressive physicians in coöperation with some large manufacturing corporations, but has so vast a compass that only National and State authorities can promptly secure the great gains it promises for the industrial population.

There is still urgent need of steady advocacy of the single standard of chastity for men and women, and of like treatment by police authorities of the men and women arrested together in the resorts of sexual vice.

Still another subject concerning public health should be promptly brought within the scope of the new National and State health authorities — the great subject of wholesome housing. Again private effort and the money of public-spirited and benevolent citizens have been doing the necessary pioneering work, and some private corporations are making important experiments on the subject; but it is not probable that private citizens and corporations can accomplish promptly the enormous work which is urgently needed in the interest

of the public health and happiness. The problem concerns many millions of the American people, whose housing under the factory system has become very bad in respect to lack of light and air, crowding, and deprivation of land for each family to cultivate. The tall urban tenement house, where ground is dear, cannot be made a proper habitation for human beings and especially for children, unless placed on wide streets and near public gardens or parks.

It is indispensable to the health and vigor of the industrial population that factories should be hereafter built in suburbs or the country, and that those who work in them should be provided with wholesome, convenient, and enjoyable houses, with a garden plot for every family.

Pioneering researches made by physicians who habitually give their attention to mental diseases and by heads of hospitals for the insane and of schools for the feeble-minded have demonstrated beyond a doubt that in the interest of the community much more public expenditure should be made on the detection, selection, and segregation of feeble-minded, defective, and criminally-minded children and adults than has heretofore been practised in the United States or in any other nation. This diagnosis and the consequent segregation are needed in all schools, prisons, relief and rescue societies, public dispensaries, and hospital out-patient departments, and in all courts which deal with errant children, habitual drunkards, and insane persons, either harmless or dangerous. The segregation of such diseased or defective persons should be so complete

that breeding by them would be prevented. At the same time the persons so segregated should be provided with the means of doing whatever productive labor they are capable of, since manual labor is generally agreeable and beneficial to such unfortunates. Some new legislation will be needed in the United States before this urgent reform can be effected; and therefore the ordinary voters and their representatives in legislatures must be convinced by all kinds of public instruction and discussion that this direction of public expenditure is economical as well as merciful, and will contribute greatly to the improvement of public morals and public health. This need of new legislation is by no means confined to the United States of America. Fortunately all political parties, large or small, conservative or progressive, are likely to favor these new expenditures on behalf of human conservation and of the health and happiness of the whole people. It may now fairly be expected that legislatures will respond to well-argued appeals for new public expenditures in these directions.

In the general field of public hygiene there is another object of public expenditure in a democracy which offers an attractive prospect of service, namely, the study of healthy conditions of employment in the modern industries. It is not an exaggeration to say that little is known about the expedient number of hours for a man or woman to work per day or per week in the mining and manufacturing industries, or even in agricultural employments, if due regard is to be paid to current health and enduring capacity for labor.

For a hundred years past there has been a tendency to diminution in the number of hours spent per day in fatiguing employments, but this reduction has been brought about in the crudest possible manner without any accurate knowledge, much less demonstration, of the wholesome number of working hours per day in the great variety of different trades or occupations which modern industry offers. It would seem as if the number of hours of work per day or per week should vary, for example, at the different seasons of the year in seasonal trades; that they should be fewer in indoor work than in outdoor, fewer underground than aboveground, and many fewer in occupations in which the work has no possible interest and quickly becomes automatic routine for the operative, than in occupations which involve only free handwork which may change from hour to hour or from day to day. Nobody knows whether the work of the world can be carried on successfully, that is, with the best results for human comfort and enjoyment, on a universal six-hour day or an eight, or any other fixed and uniform number of hours. Nobody knows what the best way is of giving every workman one day's rest in seven, in the industries which must be continuously operated, like a blast furnace, or a railway, although almost everybody believes that there should be one day's rest in seven. Nobody knows that in the best bodily and mental interest of workmen and their families daily or weekly wages should be identical in any given trade all over one national domain, in spite of the fact that the trade is carried on in many widely sepa-

rated places, under different climatic conditions, and with dissimilar surroundings as regards educational facilities, natural beauty, and home attachments. Yet trades-unions generally advocate uniform wages per nation and per trade or the subdivisions thereof.

There is therefore need of numerous careful researches, to be made, of course, by impartial experts under competent direction, as to the wholesome number of working hours per day or per week in a great variety of dissimilar occupations. These researches cannot well be performed by private individuals; because the mere collection of the needed material would require public authority, and also because the general acceptance of the results of the researches would depend on public belief in the wise selection of the men who made them. These men would have to be selected for proved capacity and character by public authorities who were believed to be impartial, disinterested, socially minded, and judicious. There is no juster or more promising field for the expenditure of public money than this field of industrial research; and it is essentially a field belonging to social hygiene, or in other words, to public health and human conservation.

RELIGION

THE CRYING NEED OF A RENEWED CHRISTIANITY[1]

This meeting is held under the auspices of three Christian churches of a peculiar sort, belonging to a small denomination called Unitarian — peculiar in that they have no ecclesiastical organization in the ordinary sense, and also no creed or body of dogmas which members of such churches must accept, or are supposed to accept. Every church in this peculiar body is independent, and, like the church of the Plymouth Pilgrims, chooses its own minister, enters, if possible, into such fellowship as it pleases with other churches, and decides for itself upon the charitable, educational, and social work it proposes to carry on. The denomination stands for complete religious liberty, for a respectful attitude toward all sincere religious beliefs, — Christian or other, — and for judging every religion by the amount of genuine twentieth-century ethics which finds place in it. This peculiar church invites serious and candid people to unite, in the spirit of Jesus Christ, for the worship of God and the service of man, but leaves entirely to the individual the decision whether he shall join a church or not. No rite bars the way into this church, no baptism, confirmation, or examination, and no one enters it in hope of reward or out of fear of punishment.

[1] An address delivered under the auspices of the Unitarian churches of Philadelphia, December 29, 1914.

The great churches of Christendom all possess powerful ecclesiastical organizations, and bodies of doctrine which are supposed to contain already the whole of essential religious truth, and to be unchangeable from age to age, except as the ecclesiastical bodies which govern the respective churches choose to make additions, or to issue new interpretations. All the great Christian churches have instituted rites, rituals, ceremonies, sacraments, and observances which they require their members to accept, attend, or perform, particularly those relating to birth, marriage, and death, the great events in every human life. The creeds and dogmas of these churches contain many conceptions which are not arrived at or deduced by any reasoning process, but are mere products of the human imagination which are accepted by a mysterious intuition or insight with which neither inductive nor deductive reasoning has anything to do. The Unitarian churches reject irrational piety, while maintaining to the full wonder, reverence, and awe.

The period at which this meeting takes place, is, in many respects, the most awful and momentous in the history of the world. More than 300,000,000 of people are involved in the most cruel and savage war that has ever been waged — a war in which the recently won powers of man over Nature are all turned with an administrative efficiency greater than the world has ever before seen, to the most active and persistent destruction of life and property, of the capital laid up

by the industry and frugality of many previous generations, and of the good will which had begun to develop between nation and nation. The war has demonstrated that, while mankind discovered and is using the marvelous new powers of light, heat, and electricity for purposes of immense beneficence, governments called Christian are capable of using these same powers, acquired for beneficent ends, in a manner which spreads death, desolation, and sorrow among 300,000,000 of the human race, availing themselves for these horrible purposes of some of the finest moral qualities which inhere in the helpless multitudes. Moreover, during fifty years past, Christian nations in Europe have given their best efforts to devising and storing up the means of making war in the most destructive manner and on an unprecedented scale. The present holocaust has been planned deliberately with the utmost intelligence and foresight, and is being carried on with terrible efficiency by the nation which is chiefly responsible for it — a Christian nation, like all the other nations involved except Turkey and Japan. This is the immense moral catastrophe of these times. It has taken place in spite of much progress made within a hundred years past in many parts of the world in popular education, humane literature, and public liberty, and of a widespread, sympathetic desire on the part of the more fortunate men and women to serve and help the less fortunate.

In nineteen hundred years the Christian institutions of religion — in other words, the highly organized churches of Christendom — have not only been unable

to accomplish anything effectual toward preventing the frequent occurrence of war, but have often incited to war each its own nation or its own race, and have made hotter the patriotic fires which blaze up in war-time. Every ruler concerned with the present war calls upon God to give victory to his arms; every one of them believes, as firmly as David or Joshua or Saladin did, that the Lord is on his side; and each people is putting up eager prayers to its national God which cannot be granted without denying the equally fervent prayers which go up from its adversaries, and is giving thanks for victories for its side which are cruel defeats for the other. Moreover, there come from the churches to-day no effective influences toward peace, but only delusive consolations and vague wishes and petitions, the granting of which by the God to whom they are addressed would only perpetuate the present horrible state of Europe. Who could imagine that the chief teachings of the founder of the religion which these nations and churches profess were — Love God and thy neighbor, and treat all men as brothers? Clearly, neither nations nor churches have ever been truly Christian.

It is a fitting time, therefore, in which to seek the reasons for the inefficiency of the great Christian churches in promoting the moral and physical welfare of mankind on this earth, whatever they may claim to do in respect to human happiness in another. The first explanation is that institutional Christianity departed early from the teachings of the founder of the religion,

and copied in its structure the authoritative and hierarchical arrangements, and in its doctrine the materialism, of the Roman world. There emerged from the early centuries after Christ two despotic Churches, each of which undertook to rule the minds and hearts of men, and did rule for many centuries the masses of the European peoples. The Protestant Reformation made a serious breach in the Roman Church, and brought in some new liberty — civil as well as religious — but Protestantism remained a highly authoritative religion; for within well-organized Protestant denominations the authority of the inspired Bible replaced for the common people the authority of the Roman hierarchy, the authoritative interpretation of the Bible being supplied by small groups of men learned in the theology of the times. Not till the Pilgrims set up in Plymouth their free Church in their free State, did the Christian world contain a fairly successful example of instituted civil and religious liberty. The Pilgrim Church and State set up standards of which America, at least, has never lost sight; but within seventy-five years many of the Pilgrims' liberties were lost or impaired; so that the compact signed in the cabin of the Mayflower, and John Robinson's doctrine that more light and truth were still to break forth from God's Word, became little more than a precious and fragrant memory.

The first explanation, then, of the impotency of the Christian churches as regards the prevention of war is that they were all organized with too much authority and too little liberty in them. They never believed in

God's way of developing the best and most effective human character — the way of liberty to sin, in order to the development of self-control. The Christian ascetics avoided fleshly temptation by mortifying the flesh: the monks and nuns fled from the world altogether. The first duties of the common people in religion were obedience to the priest and the observance of the rites the priest prescribed. Men and women should be compelled to believe whatever the Church dictated, and should be held to the authorized beliefs and practices of the Church by custom, tradition, and hallowed associations. The churches have not relied on the essential dignity of human nature and the human love of freedom for the uplifting of the race, but, on the contrary, on man's tendency to sin and his fear of the consequences, and on his too-frequent degradation in this world and his hope of salvation in another — a salvation obtainable only through the vicegerents of God on earth. Not believing in liberty, the churches have habitually supported autocratic government, and that climax of autocracy — military discipline for purposes of conquest.

The second explanation of the impotency of the Christian churches to prevent war, or promote peace, is to be found in the unethical quality of some of the doctrines of the Christian churches, as crystallized in their dogmas and creeds. The official creeds of the great churches of Christianity, and many parts of the Scriptures, contain conceptions of God's nature and of his action toward the human race which are intoler-

able to the ethical mind of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The creeds of the evangelical churches are, as a rule, built on the "fall of man" as described in the story of the Garden of Eden, the absolute correctness or trustworthiness of the story itself being assumed on the ground that its author was inspired by God Himself. The conduct attributed to God in that story would be wholly unworthy of any man whose standards of conduct accorded with the average sentiments about right and wrong of civilized people to-day. God in that story is unjust, mean, and cruel; yet the story, taken as a narrative of facts, has been made the foundation of the official creeds of all the great Christian churches.

Man fell from a superior state of innocency into a condition of sin and misery. Nevertheless, he peopled the earth with creatures like himself, degraded and wretched. But this result was unsatisfactory even to barbarous ages, when considered as the work of God, and means of redemption and ultimate salvation had to be devised and formulated. Hence came the practice of propitiation or expiation by sacrifices — human sacrifices at first in Israel, but later burnt offerings of beasts and birds; and finally the Christian Church discovered in the Scriptures a vicarious atonement for the sins of the world by the Son of God, incarnated for a brief residence on this atom of an earth, in this insignificant solar system among the countless myriads of celestial bodies. The Lamb of God was sacrificed for the sins of the world; and so some small proportion of the human race was rescued from eternal torment, to

justify by their eternal happiness, so far as they might, the original creation of a feeble race tricked into sin. The creeds of the great churches differ as to the proportion of the race really rescued by the vicarious atonement through Jesus Christ; but they all agree in making this vicarious atonement necessary to the salvation of any proportion of the human race.

In these days, the whole conception of one being — human or divine — suffering, though innocent, for the sins of another, or of innumerable others, is revolting to the universal sense of justice and fair dealing. No family, no school, and no court would venture to punish the innocent when the guilty were known, in order that the guilty might escape punishment. Any human father would be outraged by the suggestion that he had ever dealt, or could so deal with his children; and yet every member of the great Christian churches is supposed to believe that God deals in that way with the human race; and that the victim offered up for the redemption of a portion of the human race was, in a peculiar sense, the Son of God. How incredible it is, that the religious institutions and doctrines which resulted from the perversions of the real teachings of Jesus by the pagan world should have been so completely and fundamentally inconsistent with the ethics of those teachings!

Before the Christian churches can be expected to be efficient in the promotion of human welfare, and particularly in the bringing of peace on earth, they must purge themselves of such doctrines as these. It is not

enough to say in defense of the churches that many church members in good standing no longer believe these shocking doctrines; they should be eliminated from the published standards and confessions of the churches.

The historical Christian churches were early made partners with empires, monarchies, and baronies in the control and oppression of the masses of mankind, and, the governments being maintained by force, the churches became, in general, supporters of the military régime. This was natural enough, because the God of the Christian churches, like Israel's God, was commonly thought of as Lord of Hosts, God of Battles, Successful Invader, and Glorious Conqueror. These martial attributes of God were described with glowing fervor in the litanies, ascriptions, and thanksgivings of the churches. Joshua's God was the most ruthless of destroyers. Not so destructive, however, as the German Emperor's God to-day, because he evidently lacked the power to destroy everything that he wished to destroy: "And the Lord was with Judah; and he drave out the inhabitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron." Some of the Canaanites successfully resisted the Lord of the Israelite hosts; but in these later days the Belgians could not successfully resist the Lord of the German hosts. This conception of God is hideous, cruel, and insane; and no Christian church which tolerates it can be efficient in the promotion of human welfare and happiness.

Not only is the God of the great Christian churches often a War God, but the Christian life itself is often represented in Christian hymn and preaching as a battle. The Christian fights against Satan and the powers of evil — he goes forth to war against the evils and wrongs of his day: "The Son of God goes forth to war, a kingly crown to gain" — meanest of motives. The saint wears armor, the armor of the mediæval battlefield, and the archangels and the knights set upon the dragons and fiends and slay them with swords. A large part of the imagery of Christian literature is drawn from the work of soldiers and armies. "Onward Christian soldiers, marching as to war," is to-day one of the favorite hymns of the Protestant churches. In the annual procession of the Corpus Christi in Vienna, three bodies take common part, each with great magnificence — the Court, the Army, and the Church. This is the habitual association which has gradually undermined the capacity of the Church to advance in modern Europe the cause of justice, mercy, and liberty, and hence of peace and good will.

The Christian nations have, however, attained since the Middle Ages to a civilization which seems to modern men in Christian lands higher than that of the non-Christian nations, except in the prevalence of international war and fighting in general. For at least six hundred years the Christian nations have fought oftener and harder than the so-called heathen. Within the past two centuries all the great wars have been fought on Christian soil by Christian soldiers. This recognized

superiority in general civilization, however, is not chiefly due to the churches, but to other influences. The chief beneficial result of the Crusades was a remarkable development of Mediterranean commerce between the East and the West. The period which we call the Renaissance was the period of a remarkable revival of classical learning, and particularly of the Greek literature. The discovery of America brought about an immense increase of commercial adventure and of Occidental wealth; while the religious enthusiasm which accompanied the discovery was the source of hideous cruelties and barbarities. The Reformation was not a normal product of the Roman Church but a rebellion and schism within that Church, one consequence of which was an increase of civil and religious liberty in Europe. In the eighteenth century began the great series of scientific discoveries due to the adoption and successful use of the inductive philosophy and method; and for the last one hundred and fifty years it has been natural and physical science which has been the main contributor to the increasing material welfare of mankind. Science has won its way in spite of the opposition of the principal Christian churches; and that opposition did not cease until within the memory of men now living; indeed, it still breaks out from time to time. And now, within the last five months, the worst war of all recorded time — worst because of its wide extent, the fury with which it is prosecuted, and the destructive power of its new implements — brings unheard-of misery upon the human race; the Christian churches

are helpless to prevent it, or even to mitigate its horrors. The effective organizations for such pitifully small relief as can be given are for the most part not religious but secular. The care of the wounded falls on men and women trained in natural and physical science, and possessing manual skill and the spirit of service. The effective works of mercy are performed, not chiefly by representatives of the churches or by religious partisans and zealots, but by men and women who understand how to get food to the starving, to bring first aid to the wounded and carry them quickly to hospitals, to prevent fevers and infections, to purify water supplies, and to treat lockjaw, gangrene, and frostbite. The effective advocates of peace and good will among men in this horrible convulsion, produced by a nation which believes in discipline, ruthless force, and the domination of the strong over the weak, are not the priests and ministers of traditional Christianity, or the performers of rites and ceremonies, but the teachers of public liberty as the indispensable source of the highest efficiency in individual or nation, and of public justice and righteousness developed under free governmental institutions which train men to self-control in freedom under law.

The great European war is fundamentally a conflict between freedom and democracy on the one side, and the rule of hereditary monarchs and a military class on the other, that rule being maintained by appeals to love of country and national pride, and enforced by a stern discipline which leaves nothing of liberty to the indi-

vidual. In this strife the Christian Church as a whole is divided, each national church supporting its own nation; and by inheritance and tradition each national church supports the war-making power, no matter how cruel, deceitful, and faithless that power may prove to be. In short, the established and conventional churches manifest little power to promote either love to God or love to the neighbor.

Is this ineffective condition the final issue of the teachings of Jesus Christ, or is it only the result of the structure of the institutions and the quality of the doctrines in which those teachings have been embodied and set forth? To this question a great many men in all the nations of Europe and America reply that such a discussion has no interest for them: that they have not only rejected the traditional dogmas of established Christianity, but that they have no interest in discussing them; that the vital movements of the human spirit have taken more promising directions; and that they are concerned not with the Christian churches, but with the new powers which make for liberty, enlightenment, and progress. Multitudes of these men say that they are ready for any sort of social service; and at this moment multitudes of them in France and England are showing by their voluntary acts that they are ready to suffer and die in the cause of freedom; while other multitudes, equal in number, permit themselves to be driven to wounds and death in the cause of effective discipline, force, and domination. On both sides, millions of men are exhibiting extraordinary self-sacrifice and devotion,

natural fruits of the spirit of Jesus Christ; but most of these heroes have not consciously derived these lofty sentiments from the Christian churches, but are moved by the common loves of family, home, and country.

For two generations the men that have been doing, and are now doing, the work of the world have, in large measure, withdrawn from the organized churches, or maintain but a nominal connection with them — a connection, however, which often includes considerable payments to the churches on behalf of their wives and children. Educated men as a rule, in both Europe and America, have ceased to be influenced in their opinions or their actions by the dogmas of the churches, by the rewards churches offer, or by the punishments they threaten. Sunday has become a day for physical rest, for outdoor refreshment, for attention to the family, or for the enjoyment of music — sometimes at the church, but oftener at the club, the park, or the concert hall. With trifling exceptions, the church is no longer the centre of social recognition or of social enjoyments for the multitude. The granges and trades-unions, the neighborhood houses, and the numerous beneficial societies provide in many communities the needed opportunities for social intercourse which church meetings used to provide. In former times the Christian churches were the almoners for the poor and desolate; and the chief works of mercy were carried on by men and women especially commissioned by the Christian church. Now, secular societies, administered by laymen, carry on many of the principal movements for the

improvement of society — such as the Civil Service Reform Leagues, the Playground Associations, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and the Associations for Baby, School, Social, and Mental Hygiene; and many of the hospitals, dispensaries, and asylums, whether supported by taxation or by the voluntary contributions of public-spirited persons, are the works of people whose motive power is not derived from churches. To be sure, many churches have, of late, taken up some kinds of social work; but in such labors the churches are as a rule less effective than the lay societies. Even in its function of teaching children what religion is, what right conduct is, and what the motives are which lead to right conduct, the Church has much to learn. The Sunday School does not compare favorably in method or results with the week-day school, even as a teacher of elementary ethics; for it often lacks sound methods, adequate time, and the support of parents.

The fundamental trouble is that the Christian churches, as instituted and organized, have relied for centuries on imposed beliefs, rites, sacraments, symbols, and observances. Since the latter years of the eighteenth century, it has become more and more difficult to impose beliefs on educated people; and intelligent men have steadily lost faith in mysticism, symbolism, and sacerdotalism, and have come to rely more and more on the careful ascertainment of facts, the human reason, and the natural sentiments of reverence and love. They have also come to prefer for themselves

and their families liberty, independence, and public order founded on agreed-upon law, to obedience, submission, and order founded on discipline administered to the many by the few. With these new tendencies of the human spirit the great Christian churches are not in full accord.

The great Christian churches have always supported the claim of absolute monarchs that they rule by Divine right; but in the modern world only ignorant or archaic persons accept that doctrine. The mystic has always believed that in some unimaginable way he is the recipient, on occasion, of direct revelations from God through faculties or means of perception in himself which are instinctive rather than reasonable; but the advance in man's knowledge of nature, and in his power to apply to his own uses the natural forces, has made it harder than it used to be for an intelligent man to be a mystic. The thinking person who is enduring a life of suffering now, on this earth, is much less disposed than he used to be to accept as a real consolation another imagined life free from the struggles and pains of the present life. In other words, the consolations and hopes which the Christian churches have heretofore imparted to suffering human beings are to-day far less efficacious than they were in the first eighteen centuries. Neither the heaven nor the hell of the Christian churches appeals to the modern man as it formerly did to his predecessors.

The condition of Europe at this moment is the last and most convincing demonstration that the great churches of Christendom have lost their power to keep man from sin, to guide him on an upward path, and to

make him happy; for the churches are helpless in the presence of this terrible mass of long-planned, elaborately contrived human sin, shame, and suffering, although the mass is shot through by splendid gleams of courage, self-sacrifice, and patriotic devotion.

The religious state of Christendom to-day is therefore in need of a genuine revival. Mankind needs to worship, needs incitements to love, reverence, and duty, and a happy spiritual conception of the universe. Without these helps, man cannot possibly be happy in his family, his labor, or his social order. Without these conceptions of the finite and the infinite values, man cannot rise in his nature or his life from bad to good, and from good to better. No single personality born in Christendom — and no class of persons — can reach his best without accepting as his guides in life the fundamental teachings of Jesus Christ — love God and thy neighbor, have compassion on the wronged and the desolate, seek the truth that frees, and worship God in spirit and in truth. To live in this way, it is not necessary to accept any of the dogmas of the great churches, or any part of their symbolism or ritualism. Indeed, much of their symbolism, ritualism, dogmatism, and ecclesiasticism is inconsistent with essential obedience to the precepts of Jesus Christ.

What then is the renewed Christianity which these terrible times we are living in cry out for in the midst of tears and heartbreaking sorrows? It is a Christianity which abandons the errors and the unjust, cruel conceptions which the centuries have piled up on the simple teachings of Jesus. It is a Christianity which

sympathizes with and supports the aspirations of mankind for freedom — freedom in thought, speech, and action — and completely abandons authoritative ecclesiasticism and governmental despotism. It is a Christianity which hallows and consecrates birth, marriage, the bringing up of children, family life, the earning of a livelihood, and death, and rejects all the aspersions on the natural life of man which Christianity inherited from paganism and Judaism. It is a Christianity which will be the friend and ally of all that is good and ennobling in literature, science, and art, and will avail itself without fear of all the new means of teaching and helping men which successive generations shall discover, and of all the innocent enjoyments and social pleasures, while resisting effectively every unwholesome or degrading influence on human society. It is a Christianity which will recognize that the pursuit of happiness in this world is legitimate for every human being, and that the main function of government is to protect and further men in that pursuit by securing to the community health, education, wholesome productive labor, and liberty.

Do you ask if there exist in the world any exemplars of this sort of Christianity? Fortunately for the future of the world, there are to be found in nearly every Christian communion individuals who illustrate in their personal lives the purity and power of the simple religion taught by Jesus Christ. Many of these persons are quite unconscious of the embarrassments which the creeds, rituals, dogmas, and discipline of their respec-

tive churches would inflict on their candid minds, if they realized, or apprehended in clear and logical statements, the meaning of the traditional doctrines and rites of their churches. Finding themselves practically free to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with their God, they remain in the churches into which they were born, held there by family ties, sweet associations, or conservative sentiment, and inattentive to the inconsistencies between their life of the spirit and the historical doctrines of the churches to which they belong. They are all exemplars of the renewed Christianity of which there is such crying need; and many of them are active promotors of that renewal.

The liberal churches of Protestantism are, however, the best exemplars of renewed Christianity; because they have definitely abandoned the official creeds and dogmas of the past, all ecclesiasticism, and almost all symbolism and ritualism. Their membership, modest in number and little disposed to proselytism, consists exclusively of persons who propose to be free, simple, and candid in their religious thought, and in all expressions of that thought. These independent churches lay the emphasis on character and conduct, and are concerned with the tendencies and practices of their members in daily action, rather than with the beliefs of their fellowship.

After all, true Christianity is not a body of doctrines, or an official organization to direct and control men's minds and wills. It is a way of life.

A FREE AND OPEN CHRISTIAN CHURCH[1]

We have come hither in mass, first, to rejoice and give thanks together for our deliverance from all the creeds, confessions, and dogmas of the older churches and denominations, and from those conceptions of Deity which are implied in the words "propitiation," "expiation," and "vicarious atonement"; and secondly, to congratulate each other that we are able to reverence all saintly lives and to treat with respect all sincere religious beliefs, no matter how different the beliefs may be from our own, and no matter how different from our own may be the external manifestations of saintliness. This freedom to respect the practical usefulness of a great variety of religious beliefs is one of our most valued privileges.

We also have come together here with the purpose of proclaiming what the affirmative or positive beliefs are which inspire the Unitarian churches, and guide Unitarians in the conduct of their lives. We wish to do this, because we recognize the plain fact that no religion and no religious denomination can be greatly useful to society and civilization unless it is animated by warm, positive convictions carried into practice. Ours is no cool and negative religion. On the contrary, it is a steady fire, a glowing hope, an invigorating inspiration.

[1] Address at Symphony Hall, Boston, February 4, 1917.

We believe in a loving God who inspires and vivifies the universe, and to that God we attribute in an infinite degree all the finest, noblest, sweetest, loveliest qualities which human nature embodies and displays in finite forms. For us God is not a despotic ruler, a judge, just or unjust, or a lord of embattled hosts. He is for us a Father Divine; and the word "father" signifies for us the best human combination of justice, tenderness, and intimate sympathy.

We Unitarians believe in the essential dignity and goodness of human nature; and Boston is the place to reaffirm that belief, for here Channing preached that fundamental doctrine in purest form.

For and with fellow men we believe in good will, coöperation for common ends, and freedom from all restraints and subjections except those involved in preserving the same freedom for the neighbor.

We recognize that there are great evils in the world; but we refuse to accept them as inevitable, and we combat them with every form of intelligent human effort, and with every means which modern science puts into our hands.

We believe in the prevention of evil by destroying its spawn and digging up its roots, and in educating and reforming the wrongdoer rather than merely punishing him.

We recognize that human wills are often weak, and human bodies and minds often defective; but we do not infer thence that the human race is depraved, and is to be controlled and redeemed only by fear or terror.

We believe that mankind would get along better than they do now, if it were positively known that the heaven of Revelation had been burned and hell quenched.

With all our hearts we believe in, and would fain imitate the Good Samaritan, the father of the prodigal son, Martha and Mary, — especially Martha, — the publican who would not so much as lift up his eyes unto heaven, the poor widow who cast in two mites, and that disciple whom Jesus loved and to whom he said as he hung on the cross, " 'Behold thy mother!' And from that hour the disciple took her to his own home."

We believe in the lilies of the field, and accept their testimony to the nature of the God that made them so beautiful, and us capable of enjoying them.

We believe in the little children of whom Jesus said, "Of such are the kingdom of heaven," and in that kind of heaven.

We believe most earnestly and completely in the Beatitudes, the Lord's Prayer, and the rule: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

We believe that all men need to reverence, to worship, and to love.

We believe in the spiritual interpretations and sanctions of duty, obligation, and responsibility.

We believe that to whom much is given, of them much is expected or required; and that the sense of obligation is strongest in a grateful conscience.

For Unitarians, these beliefs are as warm and inspir-

ing and as fruitful in character and conduct as any the world knows.

Therefore, we mean and try to love God and our neighbor, to love mercy, to help the desolate and the wronged, to seek the truth, and, finding any, to speak it and act it out.

Finally, this meeting, held at a time when the whole world has been witnessing the complete failure of all the established Christian institutions founded on Roman imperialism, the feudal system, compromises in barbaric councils, and the historical creeds and confessions, to prevent or to mitigate the most horrible outbreak of savagery the world has ever known, hopes to suggest to the unchurched millions in this country and to the other millions who are restless in the churches to which they belong through inheritance or through beloved associations, that there exists in the world another church, open and free from all bonds of opinion or belief, in which honest minds and loving hearts may find support in the high enterprise of living a candid intellectual life and a sincere religious life, a church which sanctifies and blesses by prayer and praise the great events of common human life, — birth, marriage, and death, — a church which prompts all its members to serviceable and honorable lives, and to communion with sweet and noble souls, living or dead, and with the God of whom Jesus said, "God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

Every living church is a fellowship. Listen to the

simple terms on which any youth or maiden, any man or woman, any family or group of families may join any Unitarian church: "In the freedom of truth, and in the spirit of Jesus Christ, we unite for the worship of God and the service of man." Listen to this statement of the Unitarian faith, our only confession: "The Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, the Leadership of Jesus, Salvation by Character, the Progress of Mankind onward and upward forever."

In these days of disastrous failure on the part of the established religions and of profound disappointment for their adherents, we hear many people saying that there is no place in the world — and never has been — for an open, free, unauthoritative Christianity, and that most people prefer to have their religion prescribed by Deity direct, or by Deity through a supernaturally directed Church, or by an inspired priesthood. Unitarians admit that there are many persons of that way of thinking, which is often hereditary or traditional, and they are quite aware that such persons do not belong in their fellowship, and would not be comfortable in it; but Unitarians also think they see three great new forces at work which will before long produce multitudes of adherents for an open Christian Church in which dogmatism, supernaturalism, and ecclesiasticism have no place. These three forces are: the modern religious poetry, the triumphant truth-seeking of Science in all its branches or departments, and the advancing democracy in governments, industries, and all civilized society.

THE JOYFUL DUTY OF THE LAYMAN TO THE MODERN CHURCH IN THE WORSHIP OF GOD AND THE SERVICE OF MAN[1]

I HEARD a text just now in the Scripture reading of the day: — "We are all members one of another."

The first remark I want to make is that the proclamation[2] to which we have just listened is a layman's work, conspicuously so, although it breathes a religious spirit. In the Middle Ages the people — the working, oppressed people — owed all their holidays and pageants to the Church. How is it to-day? The people owe all their holidays in this country to the civil power, and not to any ecclesiastical power. And the Governor's proclamation is an evidence, an example, of that fact.

Let us first, before we begin to consider the duties of laymen toward the church and the services of the church toward laymen, arrive at a clear understanding of what "layman" means. It has two senses, both important. In the first place, a layman is a unit in the great mass of the people, the laity as distinguished from the clerics, from the ministers, the priests, the nuns, the men and women whose lives are devoted to religious services, to religious duties, and to the government and guidance of men through their religious beliefs. In

[1] Sermon delivered on Laymen's Sunday, November 20, 1921, in the First Parish in Cambridge, Mass. From *The Christian Register*, December 1, 1921.

[2] A Thanksgiving proclamation.

the next place, the word "layman" means also a person who is not a member of a special profession which is under consideration. For instance, a layman may be contributing greatly to the progress of the medical art, and to the quality of the medical profession, not being himself a member of that profession. Toward that profession he is a layman. And it is extraordinary what contributions to the progress of medicine have proceeded from laymen, — laymen to that profession, — especially within the last sixty years. Pasteur and Roentgen were laymen with respect to the medical profession, and yet what wonderful contributions those two men made to the progress of medicine! Let us keep clearly in mind, then, the two significations of the word "layman" as I develop my subject.

The next fact to which I want to call your attention is the extraordinary increase in the power of laymen in both senses, in the influence of laymen on the progress of human society within the last hundred years. That progress will be the wonder of the ages, the progress of human society in the last hundred years. And to that progress laymen have contributed much more, immeasurably more, than in any previous centuries or any previous thousand of years.

Where does this contribution of laymen to the progress of society chiefly appear? In the first place, it appears in the great source of human growth and human delights — in family life. It appears very strikingly in the influence of laymen on the new conception of marriage. Marriage has been in all times a religious rite.

It was only the Church, under all the principal religions, that could sanctify marriage. And yet laymen have contributed wonderfully to the sanctification of marriage within the last hundred years. They have introduced, in fact, a new conception of the holiness of marriage, the holiness of the coöperation of a man and a woman in God's creative work.

Where does that wonderful influence appear most in our day? It appears in the transformation of the thoughts of men and women about the birth or the creation of a child, and about the function of bringing up children. You remember what the Hebrew conception of birth was. When Mary brought forth Jesus, the infant Jesus, she had to resort to the Temple and offer gifts or sacrifices there for her own purification from this corrupt and corrupting process. The Christian churches have with few exceptions taught persistently for nineteen hundred years that man is altogether born in sin. The Roman Church teaches, and many other churches called Christian teach, that a baby must be baptized or christened as soon as possible by a religious service, else it may go to hell — go to hell by dying before it has been baptized or christened. Think of that! Think what a horrible doctrine has been preached all over Christendom with regard to the birth of a child and its moral condition!

How have we begun to escape from those conceptions? Through the influence of laymen preaching the opposite doctrine — that man is not born in sin, that the process of creating a child is a pure, indeed a sacred

process, and that the bringing up of children is the best work that either man or woman can do in this world.

Let me point this doctrine by reminding you that Jesus was a layman; and not only a layman but an extraordinarily aggressive layman against the priests of his day, the church of his day, against the Scribes and Pharisees. What fiercer condemnation of a clerical class, of a church, could there be than that he uttered against the Scribes and Pharisees, "hypocrites who devour widows' houses and for a pretence make long prayers"! How his scorn for the priest and the Levite who "passed by on the other side" still rings through the world in the parable of the Good Samaritan! What stronger action against the profaning of a house of God could any man have taken than he took when he went into the temple and drove away the money-changers and traders, and said to them, "Ye have made my Father's house a den of thieves."

We often think of Jesus as the great peacemaker. He said, "Blessed are the peacemakers." But he also said, "I came not to bring peace, but a sword." And his death was probably caused by the violence with which he proceeded against those money-changers and traders in the temple. Let us remember that Jesus Christ was a layman — a layman by education, by trade, one may say. He had followed the occupation of a carpenter. He must have been a remarkable child in precocity of learning; for he early learned to read Hebrew, a difficult achievement; and as a stripling he preached among the elders, to their amazement and

delight. But still he remained through all his life a layman.

What are the ways in which the laymen of to-day are exerting a beneficent influence, through the church often, but often also without support from the church? In the first place, let us consider what the laymen are doing in the family, in sweetening family life, in bringing tenderness, reverence, gentleness into the lives of husband and wife and of parents with children. Is it the church to which we must attribute the great improvement and growth in these directions during the last hundred years? No, we must attribute it to the laymen and laywomen.

Of course the church, on the other hand, brings great support to sound family life by inculcating through its weekly or daily services the prime virtues in children and their parents. It is a great blessing to a family that they can come and bring their children to the church services, and send them to the Sunday School exercises. We just heard announced a Sunday School method in this church which attracts children to scenes in religious history and to religious dramas, and encourages the children to take part in the production of such plays. That is a delightful extension of the new methods adopted in progressive schools for winning the interest and exciting the activity of children in secular subjects. Think what it means to the laymen themselves and the laywomen to have the opportunity to go into a church and sit for an hour thinking about their parents, their ancestors, their relations, their friendships, thinking

about the good they can do if they try, cherishing the sacred memories of the past, and eager hopes in like directions for the future!

In one phrase of the responsive reading which we just took part in, it was said that men ought "to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with their God." "Walk humbly with their God." The church gives to the laymen that blessed opportunity of walking with their God. How delightful is that word, "walk" with God! That is just what fathers and mothers ought to do with their children and children with their parents — walk with them. We twentieth-century Christians do not prostrate ourselves before God as the Mohammedans do, and some Christians still do, but walk with God in intimate and loving communion.

The contributions which the laymen have made to the sanctity, tenderness, and joyousness of domestic life and to happy thought of God would be enough, if they were all the contributions of laymen to modern life, to human society as organized to-day. But they are only the beginning.

What mighty changes have been coming about in the constitution of human society within the past hundred years, brought in by laymen! In the first place, an immense increase in what are called good works for human society, good works, on every hand, of education, charity, and defense against ancient evils, carried on by laymen, and better carried on by laymen than they ever were by priests. Take hospitals, for example. Hospitals have fallen almost entirely into the hands

of laymen, with great benefit to society. Take the spirit of coöperation between masters and servants, between managers or owners and employees, which is manifesting itself so strikingly to-day. That is an achievement which has proceeded from laymen, moved, to be sure, by religious impulses. What is this sudden access of hope for the coming of permanent peace? That is the work of laymen, moved, to be sure, by a tremendous religious impulse.

I want to say a few words about one special aspect of laymen's work. The greater number of this congregation are members of Unitarian churches, who have all been looking during the last four years at the rise and growth of the Unitarian Laymen's League, a very interesting and constructive body. That body of active men is making an effort in one particular direction, the most interesting direction, to my thinking, for benevolent and religious action to-day. They are making an effort in the direction of getting the millions upon millions of unchurched people in our country into some form of church. These fifty millions of people or more have abandoned the churches in which they were brought up or in which their fathers were brought up, abandoned them completely, and have no place to go to for religious inspiration and encouragement. That is just the state of mind of a large proportion of these unchurched people. They feel that they have no place to go to; and they are right in many respects in holding that position, because the large Christian churches present insuperable obstacles to admission to or reunion with

the church — insuperable obstacles. What are those obstacles? The shocking notions about God which those churches preach, the beliefs or creeds or dogmas which those churches present as conditions of admission to the church. They are not intended for obstacles. There have been times in the past when they did not seem to be obstacles. But now they are obstacles to the return of the unchurched to the Evangelical churches of to-day. The Unitarian Church presents no such obstacles. There are no terms of admission or any beliefs necessary for admission to the Unitarian or Universalist churches.

The Unitarian Laymen's League has set out to help this enormous mass of the unchurched. It must be done by personal influence, by seeking out the families that feel the need of religious fellowship but do not know where to find it. This seems to me the urgent duty of both Unitarian laymen and Unitarian ministers at the present moment. For is it not clear, have not events of the last seven years convinced us all, that man is at bottom inevitably a religious being, and that he cannot reach his best, he cannot even avoid his worst, unless he gives play and expression to his religious spirit, and opens his heart and his life to the spirit of God? The shuddering world needs a new religion framed on the plain teachings of Jesus, led by his living example, and thronged by the laity — men, women, and children — joyously in it, heart and soul.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD

WHAT IS AN AMERICAN?[1]

In the first place, the American is the product of certain moral inheritances. He is usually the descendant of an immigrant or an immigrant himself. That immigrant, in many cases, was escaping from some sort of religious, political, social, or economic oppression. He was some kind of nonconformist; and he was dissatisfied with his surroundings and wished to better them. Therefore he must have had an unusual amount of imagination, ambition, and venturesomeness. This is as true of the late comers to America as of the earlier comers. The English Pilgrims and Puritans, the French Huguenots, the Scotch Covenanters, the Moravians, the Quakers, the Russian Jews, the Armenians, and the Syrian Christians all fled from religious hostilities or restrictions, and meant to secure, or expected to find, in the New World freedom to worship God each in his own way. They found that liberty, and ultimately established in the United States a régime of absolute religious toleration. After 1848 a large German immigration took refuge here from political oppression. Millions of European and Near-Eastern people have crossed the Atlantic and taken the serious risk of attempting to secure a foothold in fresh and free America, because they hoped to escape from economic pressure and chronic poverty. They have exiled themselves from

[1] From *Collier's Weekly*, August 1916.

home and friends in search of some better opportunity for a successful and happy life than the native land offered. The migrations of the Irish and the Scotch Highlanders have been strong cases of escape from harassing economic and social conditions. The early comers took the risks of the wilderness, the Indians, the untried climate, and the unknown diseases. The late comers have dared the perils of congested cities, of novel industries, and of insecure employment. Hence, by heredity, the white Americans of to-day — of whatever race or stock — have a fair chance to be by nature independent, bold, and enterprising.

In the second place, the environment of the immigrants into North America during the past three centuries has exerted a common influence on them all, which has tended to produce in the successive generations certain advantageous qualities. All the American generations thus far may fairly be said to have done pioneering work, and all the earlier generations lived a life of conflict with the hostilities of adverse Nature and with hostile human beings, both savage and civilized. Such pioneering and such conflict all across a continent supply men and women alike with a strenuous training.

The American colonies were engaged most of the time in some kind of warfare. From the beginning the American settlers carried arms, and were often called upon to defend their homes and their communities. The Massachusetts Puritan farmer carried his flintlock with him to the meetinghouse, and the frontier settler has always had firearms in his cabin and has taught his boys how to use them.

In the nineteenth century the United States was involved four times in costly war. No American generation has escaped the discipline of war. Among the most recent immigrants from Southern Europe and the Near East there have been many thousands of young men who, before they had really established themselves in the New World, returned home to bear their part in the present agonies of the Old. An American, therefore, is likely to be a man of individualistic quality, who nevertheless possesses a strong community-sense and is ready to fight in defense of his family and his community. His environment has trained him to energetic industry, sharp conflict with natural obstacles, and the use of protective force. Nevertheless, his inheritance and his environment alike predispose him to condemn military establishments, a military class, and militarism in general. He is, and means to be, a freeman.

A genuine American regards his Government as his servant and not as his master, and will have no chief executive in city, state, or nation except an elected executive. He recognizes that men are not equal as regards native capacity or acquired power, but desires that all men shall be equal before the law and that every individual human being — child or adult — shall have his just opportunity to do his best for the common good. He believes in universal education, and is always desiring the improvement of the free schools. In respect to this desire for education, however, many of the most recent Americans outdo some of the earlier ones — particularly in the zeal and assiduity of their children in school.

As a result of his own experience in public affairs and of his ancestors' experience, a true American always acquiesces in the decision of a majority of the legitimate participants in an election or other public contest. This is an American trait of high political value. It makes American political and social progress, as a rule, a peaceful evolution. People who have long been helpless under political or ecclesiastical oppression, and have had no practice in self-government, have difficulty in acquiring this trait.

The characteristic American believes, first, in justice as the foundation of civilized government and society, and next in freedom for the individual, so far as that freedom is possible without interference with the equal rights of others. He conceives that both justice and freedom are to be secured through popular respect for the laws enacted by the elected representatives of the people and through the faithful observance of those laws; and because of his confidence in law as the enactment of justice and the security for freedom, he utterly condemns all lawless practices by public servants, private citizens, or groups of citizens. For him lawless violence is the worst offense which can be committed by either the governors or the governed. Hence he distrusts legislation which is not faithfully executed, and believes that unsuccessful legislation should not lapse, but be repealed or replaced. It should be observed, however, that American justice in general keeps in view the present common good of the vast majority, and the restoration rather than the punishment of the

exceptional malignant or defective individual. Indeed, the American conception of justice is very different from that of traditional Christian theology, or of feudal institutions, or of any of the despotic governments. It is essentially democratic; and especially it finds sufferings inflicted on the innocent unintelligible and abhorrent.

The American believes that if men are left free in the planning and conduct of their lives they will win more success in the professions, the trades, and the industries than they will if their lives are regulated for them by some superior power, even if that power be more intelligent and better informed than they. Blind obedience and implicit submission to the will of another do not commend themselves to characteristic Americans. The discipline in which they believe is the voluntary coöperation of several or many persons in the orderly and effective pursuit of common ends. Yet Americans are capable of intense collective action when they see that such action is necessary to efficiency or to the security of the community as a whole. Thus they submit willingly to any restrictions on individual liberty which can be shown to be necessary to the preservation of the public health, and they are capable of the most effective coöperation at need in business, sports, and war.

Such are the common ideals, hopes, and aims of the heterogeneous peoples assembled on the territory of the United States. Whoever accepts them and governs his life by them is an American, whatever his origin, race, or station. No other assimilation of different national

stocks is needed — or is even desirable — than this acceptance of the common American ideals; but with this acceptance should go, and ordinarily does go, an ardent love of the new country and its liberal institutions, a love not inconsistent with an affectionate regard for the old country from which the original immigrant into America took his resolute departure.

ZIONISM [1]

To the Christian friends of the Jewish people the most interesting question about the Zionist movement is whether it can contribute to the eradication of the undesirable qualities in Jews that have resulted from the century-long persecution to which they have been subjected in the European and Asiatic countries through which they have been scattered. The condition of the Jews in Europe has been terribly depressing and enfeebling for many centuries, but in Asia it has been even worse; indeed, it has been there one of utter misery.

The worst features of these persecutions have been first, the practical exclusion of the Jews from many of the best trades and occupations, best, that is, in their physical and moral effects; secondly, their confinement to certain parts of a closely built city or town, districts which were overcrowded and unwholesome, especially in walled towns; thirdly, their liability at any time to murderous attacks on them by the Christian populace who so outnumbered them that resistance seemed impossible; and fourthly, from the times of the Roman Empire, their exclusion from the exercise of judicial and administrative functions and from the privilege or function of bearing arms, a very serious injury to the character and progress of any people.

[1] From *The Maccabean*, August 1919.

The exclusion from the best trades and occupations was perhaps the worst of these afflictions, because of its inevitable effect on the character of the Jewish people. The Jews ceased to be cultivators of the land, for example. They could not follow, or follow to advantage, any of the primary trades, like those of the carpenter, mason, blacksmith, wheelwright, farmer, and sailor. They were forced to become small shopkeepers, peddlers, and money-lenders when they had by skill or good fortune accumulated a little money.

Secondly, the confinement of Jews within the Jewish pale had ill effects on the bodily and mental qualities of the people. It limited travel, commercial and financial intercourse, and the spirit of adventure, important elements in the education of any people. Confinement to the Ghetto in towns and cities was a still more injurious limitation. It made the Jews an urban population rather than a rural, and subjected them to all the physical and moral evils which accompany congestion of population.

Thirdly, the liability to sudden attacks from their Christian neighbors, attacks they had neither the means nor the disposition to resist by force, since they had no right to bear arms, had the inevitable depressing effect on the spirit of the people. They were liable not only to be killed, men, women, and children together, but to be driven from their homes by enactments of rulers or by mere mob violence; although in various European countries there were brief intervals during which the Jews enjoyed peace and some degree of liberty. These

intervals, however, seldom extended over more than one reign or generation.

These very trying conditions, under which the exiled Jewish people have lived for many centuries, have had serious effects on the physique of the race. Having been excluded from most of the occupations which require varied muscular effort, and having had no access to the out-of-door sports or military training which might have protected them from some of the evils resulting from indoor life and loss of exercise, many Jews came to have feeble, stunted, undeveloped bodies, and morbid nervous systems. This result is conspicuous to-day wherever Jews gather together by hundreds or thousands. At this moment, in countries where active oppression of the Jews long since ceased, the Jewish element of the population is dreaded at all the large public and private hospitals and dispensaries because it provides so many neurasthenic patients, the treatment of whom is always prolonged and tedious and not infrequently unsuccessful. The occupations which the Jews were allowed to follow among the Christian peoples of Europe were, with the exception of peddling, indoor occupations which had no invigorating effect on the body. In addition to the purely physical effects, their deprivations had a decided effect on their spirit or temperament. They were forced to conceal as much as possible their family life and their religious life; and they tended to become subservient rather than independent, submissive rather than resistant. They lacked the good elements in the martial spirit. They met the

indignities and cruelties to which they were subjected, not with indignant protest but with lamentations, both public and private. They held chiefly in remembrance the periods of Jewish history when their race was enslaved or exiled, rather than those during which it was an aggressive and conquering race.

Their thoughtful men took refuge in the study of the great Hebrew literature, in teaching, in the practice of medicine, in the cultivation of music, and in the preservation of the dietetic, sanitary, and ceremonial traditions of the race; but these occupations had to be pursued in isolation or even secrecy, and they were all of the kind that developed the nervous system and the emotions rather than the muscular system. They needed as atmosphere peace and quietness, not strife or the strenuousness of vigorous competition.

Under their very peculiar industrial conditions, the Jews in all generations developed skill in buying at low prices and selling at high, and also skill in lending money at high rates to impecunious Christians; and they acquired among Christians a reputation for being grasping and sharp in their money transactions. They were ready to lend money to persons who had nothing to furnish as security except their domestic animals or their household goods; and, when the borrowers could no longer pay the high rates of interest they had agreed to pay, they lost to the Jewish lenders the precious chattels they had pledged. This practice of lending money or giving credit to poor people, taking land, chattels, or crops not yet gathered as security, has

always been highly inexpedient for Jews; but it is persisted in to this day in many parts of the world, as, for instance, by Jewish shopkeepers in the Southern States.

Throughout the Middle Ages and down to comparatively recent times, promising Jewish children could procure a better education than was to be had by any other race in Europe, because education was better preserved among the Jews than among any other constituent of the European population. Accordingly, the Jews were likely to excel their Christian neighbors in those intellectual occupations accessible to them; and here again was a source of exasperation against them as a race, and often of danger to them.

Here we see important sources of modern prejudices against the Jewish race coming down the centuries. The present Christian generations of European and American origin dread the clannishness of the Hebrew people who live among them, their ingenuity and keenness in buying and selling, and their practical skill in banking and carrying on a great variety of trading operations, both wholesale and retail. In the countries where Jews are free, the Christians complain that, although the refined, educated, and public-spirited Jew is a thoroughly satisfactory friend and neighbor, the coarse, ignorant, ostentatious Jew is a peculiarly disagreeable product of free institutions, especially if he be newly rich.

It is perfectly plain that both the noble and the ignoble qualities of a free Jewish population are

inevitable results of the life of the race during centuries of oppression and isolation, and that the cure for the evil can only be found in new centuries of freedom and education. The coming generations in all races are going to attend much more than past generations did to the suppression of the physical and moral evils which affect disastrously the public health and vitality, and to the means of securing vigor of body and independence of thought. Most of the Christian peoples put a high value on the fighting, courageous, adventurous spirit in a healthy man, and have good reason to do so, but this is the spirit which the Jewish people have had scant opportunities for developing during the last two thousand years. Valuable means of developing this spirit may be found in all kinds of manly sport, in the practice of trades which are exercised in the open air and require muscular power and manual skill, and in the cultivation in both sexes of open-air habits. All classes and conditions of men are making these new efforts to promote human welfare. By joining heartily in these efforts, and succeeding with them in their own case, the Jews will gradually win heartier respect and liking from their Gentile neighbors than are now accorded them, except to their highest types.

Now comes the question whether the Zionist movement will provide an effective remedy for the results of the subjection and enfeeblement of the Jews during the past two thousand years, or at least for a part of the present and future generations, a part which may carry inspiration and encouragement to all the rest.

It is obvious that if a self-governing and self-supporting Jewish community can be established under a British Protectorate in Palestine, the ancient seat of the race, it can repossess itself of all the fundamental trades and all the administrative and judicial offices, and organize from its own race all the protective forces which modern society needs, such as police for towns and cities, a gendarmery for rural districts, and a citizen army. It could establish for its own people return to rural life and perfect freedom of movement at home and abroad, and could prevent the physical and moral evils which accompany congestion of population. A numerous Jewish community in Palestine under a British Protectorate would, of course, be free, if the League of Nations is carried into effect, from foreign aggression of every sort, and from dangerous disorders within their own country. They would no longer need to hide their family life or their religious life, and would be subject to no social restrictions or embarrassments. They would be free to practise all the arts and sciences in which they now excel, and would add some from which they have been in many countries long excluded.

Theoretically and sentimentally, therefore, the creation of an independent Jewish community on their own soil seems in the highest degree desirable. It is doubtless possible, though difficult. The difficulties are serious, but not insuperable, given an indefinite supply of money and engineering skill to build the artificial harbors and irrigation works which a proper commercial and agricultural development of Palestine would

require. The area of land in Palestine capable of producing wheat and other cereals without artificial irrigation is too small to permit the creation of a substantial and numerous farming class. The coast of Palestine has no harbors suitable for the export and import trade which a prosperous community would need to maintain. At present, the proportion of Jews in the population of Palestine is but small; so that a large immigration from other parts of the world would be necessary, and since the revolutions in Russia and Germany it is not clear whence this additional population could be derived. The relations of the new Jewish community to the Moslem and Christian populations of Palestine would be a subject for cautious experiment; and it might take many years to get into practice successful relations.

On the whole, the Zionist movement looks, to the Christian peoples among whom the Jews are free, like a great adventure for the honor and welfare of the Jewish race, based on firm historical foundations, racial, industrial, and religious, and informed by a spirit of national pride and courage.

PROHIBITION [1]

I HAVE been sitting here all the evening, wondering at my very different state of mind from the state of mind of all those who have addressed you. I have had more than twenty years' observation, as a scientific man, of the subject under discussion — prohibition or no prohibition.

I remember well that, twenty years ago or thereabouts, I was entertained by the Harvard Club of Louisiana at a large dinner in the city of New Orleans, where I sat next to a gentleman who was generally recognized in New Orleans as the leader of their Bar. I noticed the moment we sat down that there was an extraordinary variety of things to drink on the table; and I also noticed that my neighbor took everything that was passed and in large quantity, so much so that I began to be a little anxious about his condition later. But suddenly he turned to me and said, "Mr. President, do you know that the New Orleans Bar, and I as its leader, are going in for complete prohibition in the State of Louisiana?" I could not help expressing surprise that *he* was going in for that. Whereupon he said, "Well, you don't suppose that we, the members of the Bar, expect to have the law applied to us, do you?"

[1] An address before The Economic Club of Boston, March 6, 1923. Reprinted from *The Consensus*, official organ of the National Economic League.

(*Laughter*) He was positively a vigorous advocate of complete prohibition for Louisiana, but all the time had not the slightest notion that a prohibitory law could be applied to him or any of his friends, or would be.

That opened my eyes somewhat in regard to the expectation with which the sudden, unanimous support of prohibition came to pass in the Southern States. It was nearly unanimous, you remember, and remains so to this day. The Southern States are the strongest supporters in this country of prohibitory legislation.

Then, some time later, I found myself attending a Harvard Club dinner in the State of Missouri. There were many things to drink at that dinner also. I was informed that some of the leading citizens of Missouri, engaged in manufacturing operations, were going to move their plants over into the State of Kansas. I observed later that a large number of Missouri manufacturers did move their plants over into the State of Kansas, and learned, on inquiry, that those manufacturers had made up their minds that they could conduct their businesses much better in a State where a prohibitory law existed than they could in a State where that law did not exist.

I have had the delight of passing my summers for more than forty years — yes, it is fifty-two years since I first began to go to Mount Desert in summer — in the State of Maine. There I observed that the prohibitory law in Maine was not observed at all excepting in communities where, as one guest has said to-night, the great majority of the population was in favor of prohibition.

There alone was the distribution of alcoholic drinks restrained. I lived there fifty summers, observing the fact that the prohibitory law in Maine was not generally enforced; observing that the summer residents of the State of Maine, who, as you know, live all along the shore and in several of the beautiful lake regions, paid no attention to the prohibitory law.

What inference did I draw from that experience? Simply that unless the strong majority of any government unit in the States where prohibitory laws exist was in favor of prohibition, the law would, as a matter of fact, not be enforced.

But further: It was obvious that no single State could possibly enforce prohibition, because it had no power to prevent the manufacture of alcoholic drinks outside the State or their importation into it. You must have national prohibition to make prohibition effective. It must be nation-wide, or it simply cannot be enforced.

So I supported for many years in Massachusetts, not prohibition, but local option; but then I learned that the sale of distilled liquors in saloons licensed to sell light wines and beer cannot be prevented. Nobody should advocate the repeal of the Volstead Act except those who believe in the unrestricted sale of alcoholic beverages. I ought perhaps to say that I took wine or beer when I was in the society of people who were using them. I never had any habit of drinking them at home; but I always took them when I was in the company of men or women who were using them. I had no feeling

that alcohol was bad for everybody, or bad for me. I never knew alcohol to do me any harm; but then I never drank distilled liquors at all. When the United States in the spring of 1917 went to war, you remember that with the support of all the best civilian authorities and of the officers in the Army and Navy, our Government enacted a prohibitory law for the regions surrounding the camps and barracks where the National Army was being assembled. The Act proved to be effective and highly beneficent.

Then I said to myself, "If that is the action of my Government to protect our soldiers and sailors preparing to go to war, I think it is time for me to abstain from alcoholic drinks altogether." It is only since 1917 that I have been a total abstainer; but that is now six years ago, and I want to testify here, now, that by adopting total abstinence, after having had the opposite habit for over seventy years, one loses no joys that are worth having, and there is no joy-killing about it. On the contrary, I enjoy social life and working life more since I ceased to take any alcohol than I did before.

That talk, gentlemen, about joy-killing and pleasure-losing, and so forth, is absolute nonsense for a man who has any sense himself.

As I said, I have listened to all the speeches to-night and the answering of the questions with an increasing sense of the absolute difference beween my approach to this subject and the approaches of the speakers to whom you have listened. I approached the whole question from this point of view, simply: Here is a

tremendous evil in the world. Of course, a comparatively new evil. To be sure, we have read in sacred Scripture and in many other places, that the former generations of well-to-do men, like Noah, for example, did, upon occasion, get drunk; but that fact is absolutely irrelevant in the present contest against the hideous evil which came into the world when Jamaica rum and whiskey, made from cheap grains, became accessible to all sorts of men and women. That is the source and starting point of this horrible modern evil of alcoholism and venereal disease — they go together — which has come upon the white race since, say, the fifteenth century.

We all know that our Puritan ancestors and our Pilgrim ancestors were not persons who cultivated the finer joys of life. They left behind them the great architecture of England, and its parks and its music. The Pilgrims came over from Holland, having lived there for ten or fifteen years in sight of all the glorious Dutch paintings, sculpture, and architecture. They abandoned all those things, and settled in the wilderness, where there was little possibility of cultivating the love of beauty and little power, too, of resisting the theological dogmas they had imbibed, which taught that human nature was utterly depraved, and that most of the human race were bound for a fiery hell.

Those are the people from whom the leading thinkers and doers of America sprang; and it is naturally inevitable that we, their descendants, should lack the love of beauty in nature and in art, and even in music. We

do lack it. The Pilgrims and the Puritans lacked it to an extraordinary degree.

Where did they find their pleasures? Largely in drink. They drank hard at weddings, funerals, and all public festivals. We have that inheritance, but can we not resist and overcome it? Can we not grow up into a love of beauty in nature and in art? Can we not cultivate in ourselves the delight in music — in singing and in playing instruments? We are not hopeless in those respects; and those are the things we have got to learn to love, in order to escape from this wretched evil of alcoholism.

But how shall we do it? We must cultivate in ourselves the finer inspirations, the purer delights, and the greater joys in art and in work. But, more than that, we have got to practise resistance to acknowledged manifest evils in our common life.

That has always been my way of living, from day to day, in the practice of my profession. From the beginning, that was the way I lived. I attacked what seemed to me a plain, acknowledged, manifest evil, and advocated the best remedy I knew for that evil. That is just what we have got to do to-day, gentlemen, about this abominable evil of alcoholism associated with venereal disease; because that evil will kill us unless we kill it. By "us" I mean the white race, and particularly the American stock. Must we not accept the proposition that we must either destroy alcoholism and venereal disease, or those evils will destroy us? I believe that to be the plain truth; and I want to call on every lover of

his kindred and of his country, hourly, daily, year after year, to contend against these evils, alcoholism and venereal disease, until they are obliterated from the world. Finally, may we not reasonably distrust the legal view that has been repeatedly presented here this evening, namely, that the rights and privileges of decent and vigorous people should not be abridged for the sake of indecent or weak people who abuse their privileges?

THE NEXT AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION [1]

In the summer of 1896 I gave an address at the original Chautauqua, created and conducted by Bishop John H. Vincent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on "Five American Contributions to Civilization." In the last paragraph but one of the address these five contributions were succinctly described and characterized as follows: —

"These five contributions to civilization — peace-keeping, religious toleration, the development of manhood suffrage, the welcoming of newcomers, and the diffusion of well-being — I hold to have been eminently characteristic of our country, and so important that, in spite of the qualifications and deductions which every candid citizen would admit with regard to every one of them, they will ever be held in the grateful remembrance of mankind. They are reasonable grounds for a steady, glowing patriotism. They have had much to do, both as causes and as effects, with the material prosperity of the United States; but they are all five essentially moral contributions, being triumphs of reason, enterprise, courage, faith, and justice, over passion, selfishness, inertness, timidity, and distrust. Beneath each one of these developments there lies a strong ethical sentiment, a strenuous moral and social purpose. It is for such work that multitudinous democracies are fit."

[1] From *Foreign Affairs*, September 1922.

I wished to emphasize in this paragraph that the five contributions were not material but moral; not evidences of a coarse and selfish materialism in the American people, but on the contrary evidences of a good spiritual quality, as the result of their experience in political and social liberty and in chronic conflict with their various foes — some of them human beings, and some adverse forces of Nature.

Ten years earlier, at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the First Parish Church in Cambridge, in an address entitled "Why We Honor the Puritans," I had spoken near the end of the address as follows, trying to answer the question: Have we, the descendants of the Puritans, ideals for which we would toil, and suffer, and — if need be — die?

"The Civil War gave one answer to that question. But I believe that in peace as well as in war our nation has shown that it has ideals for which it is ready to bear labor, pain, and loss. I believe that no people ever sees clearly those steps in its own progress, those events in its own life, which future generations will count glorious. Yet I think we can discern some moral ideals toward which our generation strives. We strive toward a progressive improvement of human condition, an amelioration of the average lot. We begin to get a realizing sense of that perfect democratic ideal: 'We are members one of another.' The gradual diminution of the exercise of arbitrary authority in the family, in education, and in government is another ideal toward which we press. We have come at last to really believe that he that would be greatest among us must be our servant."

The reason I gave in that address for honoring the Puritans was that they were "stout-hearted for an ideal, — not our ideal, but theirs, — their ideal of civil and religious liberty. Wherever and whenever resolute men and women devote their lives and fortunes not to material but to spiritual ends, there and then heroes are made, and, thank God, are made to be remembered. The Puritans thought to establish a theocracy; they stand in history as heroes of democracy."

When the late World War was only two months old, I published in the New York *Times* a letter on "True National Greatness." I remarked that "in North America there are two large communities — heretofore inspired chiefly by ideals of English origin — which have never maintained conscripted armies, and have never fortified against each other their long frontier — Canada and the United States. Both may fairly be called great peoples even now; and both give ample promise for the future. Neither of these peoples lacks the 'stout and warlike' quality of which Sir Francis Bacon spoke[1]; both have often exhibited it." And then I asked the question: What are the real ambitions and hopes of the people of the United States and the people of Canada in regard to their own future? I answered, in part: —

"Their expectations of greatness certainly are not based on any conception of invincible military force or desire for the physical means of enforcing their own will on their neighbors. They both believe in the free commonwealth, administered justly and with the purpose of

[1] *True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.*

securing for each individual all the freedom he can exercise without injury to his neighbors and the collective well-being. . . . They believe that the chief object of government should be the promotion of the public welfare by legislative and administrative means; that the processes of government should be open and visible and their results be incessantly published for approval or disapproval. They believe that a nation becomes great through industrial productiveness and the resulting internal and external commerce; through the gradual increase of comfort and general well-being in the population, and through the advancement of science, letters, and art. . . . They think that the peace of the world can be best promoted by solemn public compacts between peoples, — not princes or cabinets, — compacts made to be kept, strengthened by mutual services and good offices, and watched over by a permanent international judicial tribunal authorized to call on the affiliated nations for whatever force may be necessary to induce obedience to its decrees. . . . The new ideals will still need the protection and support, both within and without each nation, of a restrained public force, acting under law, national and international, just as a sane mind needs as its agent a sound and strong body. Health and vigor will continue to be the safeguards of morality, justice, and mercy."

Here again I maintained that the ideals of the American people were not primarily physical comfort and private and national wealth, but rather morality, justice, mercy, and spiritual well-being in family and State.

Two months later, in a letter printed in the same newspaper,[1] I said: —

"The immediate duty of the United States is presumably to prepare, on the basis of its present army and navy, to furnish an effective quota of the international force, servant of an international tribunal, which will make the ultimate issue of this most abominable of wars not a truce, but a durable peace." Now, duty is the offspring of knowledge and sentiments or loves.

> When Duty whispers low, *Thou must*,
> The youth replies, *I can*.

This call to service for mankind was obeyed two years later by the American people with a whole-souled enthusiasm which took small account of property losses, private or public, of huge government debts, of high taxes, or loss of life or health by their young men. Military success against autocratic governments and their selfish and cruel policies of conquest became the one object of the whole people, no matter at what cost. The National Administration had held back on going into the fierce war between the despotic and aggressive powers and the constitutional governments, had revived Washington's advice to the little feeble commonwealth planted on a narrow strip of the eastern seacoast of what are now the continental United States, — that it keep out of European entanglements, — and contented itself with ineffective verbal protests against the violation of "neutral rights"; but in April 1917 Administration,

[1] 11 December 1914.

Congress, and people went into the horrible war with the hope and purpose of destroying autocracy in Europe, promoting democracy everywhere, providing international means of preventing war in the future, and making the world a better place for future generations to live in. Surely, this was a prodigious moral enterprise, into which material and selfish considerations entered hardly at all.

In the twenty or thirty years which preceded this high resolve, the American people had made some other contributions to civilization in addition to the five I dwelt upon in 1896. These should now be set forth.

The American democracy has made a very important contribution to human welfare in that it has developed in its men a greater tenderness and a deeper reverence toward women and children than any other race or nation has ever exhibited. With this development has come in married pairs a spirit of sympathetic comradeship and of mutual affectionate effort for the benefit of children, which is a great improvement on the relations between the sexes that have heretofore prevailed in other nations or under other forms of government. Now, the attainment of happiness is more dependent on good relations between the sexes and on the domestic joys than on any other conditions of human life. Therefore, this American contribution to human welfare is fundamental, legitimate, and durable; and it is a spiritual or moral contribution, not a material one.

The physical conditions under which the American continent has been occupied by people of the English

and American stock account in part for this moral accomplishment. All across the continent the real pioneering line — often preceded by a skirmish line of male adventurers — has been a line of families, for which the men have provided such protection as was possible, while the women have shared heroically in the dangers and hardships of the life. As the pioneering line advanced, it organized villages, districts, towns, churches, and schools which took common action for defense, for education, and for religion, and through these organizations the family was protected and nurtured. For three hundred years this development of family life on fresh soil has gone on without any hindrance from feudal system or ecclesiastical power, and with a steady fostering of individualism in liberty.

The physical conditions under which American society has developed have had another interesting effect on the character and habits of the people. Every generation has encountered tremendous evils — some of them effects of adverse forces of nature and others results of man's folly or wickedness — against which it has had to struggle, such as inordinate heat or cold, drought, storms, pests, pestilences, contagious diseases, and attacks by savages or by civilized men who allied themselves with savages. Hence arose the practice in the American communities of resisting strenuously the evils which came upon them, and not only resisting but trying to prevent them. Coöperation in resisting or preventing evils and wrongdoings has been the great training-school of the American democracy. The initiative in

this coöperative action often came from individuals of "light and leading"; but the coöperative effort was usually made by a group, sometimes small but often large, or was shared by the entire community. That cooperation of private citizens for public ends has characterized the American people for three hundred years.

Two recent reforms in the field of public health — the Prohibition Amendment and the repression of venereal diseases and of the commercialized vice which produced and spread them — have been within recent years the products of this coöperation of private citizens for public ends. The entrance of the United States into the World War gave a great impetus to both of these reforms; but the Prohibition legislation had been in gradual development for nearly thirty years in Kansas, and in several Southern states for ten or twelve years, while the way toward the repression and ultimate extinction of the venereal diseases had been shown for some years before the war by private societies. The results of the war prohibition of the sale of alcohol in and near the camps or barracks of the forming national army showed millions of Americans how the hideous evil of alcoholism could be successfully resisted and reduced, and with patience exterminated, and led directly to the adoption of the Prohibition Amendment by an overwhelming majority of the American voters. Thus the American democracy has led the way in strenuous conflict against one of the worst evils which have beset civilized mankind in modern times. Here are two admirable illustrations of the training the American people have received during the three

centuries of their occupation of American soil, from their habit of resisting the physical or moral evils which their mode of life brought upon them, while they were free to either overcome or succumb to those evils. That is God's way of forming sound character in either an individual or a race.

In no field has this method of resisting evils been more conspicuous than in the field of medicine or public health. Accordingly, the profession of medicine has been held in higher esteem and been given a better status in American society than anywhere else in the world. It has exercised a stronger influence on community affairs than in any other nation. In many a village or small town all over the United States the doctor has been, and still is, the leading citizen, and the habitual adviser, not only of the town meeting, but of the principal families of the town or district. He is the person who can best tell his community how to attack and prevent the evils to which they find themselves exposed. In recent times the physician has often surpassed in American communities both the lawyer and the minister as influential citizen. In many an American manufacturing community to-day the physician is more competent than any other member to show the community how to resist or prevent the evils which afflict them. Coöperative resistance to evils is in the modern world the great means of social and industrial progress; and in democratic communities it is the physician who gives the best example of accuracy in determining facts, caution in drawing inferences, and disinterestedness and public spirit in his mode of life.

It is the fashion at home and abroad to represent American society and its motives as in the highest degree materialistic, and to cite as illustrations of this doctrine the extraordinary number and value of the inventions which American inventors have contributed to productive industries and the general means of livelihood, such as the telegraph, the telephone, the sewing machine, the mower, the reaper, the rotary printing-press, and the machines which get light, heat, and power from electricity. But while such inventions have, indeed, greatly contributed to man's control over nature and to his utilization of natural resources, what kind of a product are the inventors themselves? They have been, and are to-day, men of unusual natural gifts who have developed as individuals in the freedom of democratic society, a society which produces more abundantly than any other the individual of rare natural endowments, and then gives him freedom to develop in accordance with his natural tendencies and devotions. In other words, the extraordinary new advantages which American inventiveness has given to the whole world are not primarily materialistic in origin, but a mental and spiritual result of the moral character and comprehensive good-will which democracy develops in both individuals and groups. The new means of communication due to American inventiveness are no more materialistic in essence or in effect than the post office. They bring near together people who live wide apart, and so facilitate human intercourse, which is good and useful in the main, though sometimes indifferent or even bad.

It appears from this review that the American people have from the first settlement of Europeans on the Atlantic coast been steadily contributing not only to the promotion of liberty among mankind, but also to the improvement of all those conditions of human life which make for greater comfort, security, and happiness. The phrase in the Declaration of Independence that everyone is entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" is highly significant as descriptive of the benevolent objects to which the American people have intentionally and persistently been striving to attain, not only for themselves but for all men. But how have the American people been obliged to live, themselves, through these centuries of well-directed effort? It is no exaggeration to say that they have been compelled to live ready to use force or violence against opponents — men or natural evils — and prepared to fight all the time.

In the Pilgrim Colony at Plymouth every able-bodied man bore arms and was trained in the use of the guns of that day; and for more than a generation the military force of the colony was under the command of an impetuous and combative professional soldier. In the Puritan Colony of Massachusetts Bay the same state of things existed from the moment when the pioneering Puritan farmers moved away from their ships and their harbors. The men were always armed and equipped for fighting. The Puritan men carried their guns when the family went to meeting, and kept vigilantly on their guard against the stealthy savages.

The Somes family, established early in the eighteenth century at Gloucester, Massachusetts, sent some of their men to explore the wealth of the Maine coast in forests, fish, and water power before the middle of the century; but they waited to move as a family to the head of Somes's Sound till after Wolfe's victory over Montcalm settled the question, which race was to be supreme on that shore, the English or the French. The English colonists in New England took active part in the long series of combats with the Indians, and with the French and Indians in alliance, all the way to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. When the Revolutionary War broke out, it appeared that, at least in New England, most of the young men not only knew how to fight, but were ready to do so. Many of the officers in the army which gathered so promptly in Cambridge were men of considerable experience in warfare, and the privates in the patriot soldiery not only attacked in flank and front veteran British troops retreating from Concord and Lexington, but within three months of the outbreak of the war actually repulsed twice some of the most experienced troops in the British army, who assaulted most gallantly the hastily constructed redoubt and fence on Bunker Hill. The Salem, Boston, and New York merchants who undertook to open trade with the northwest coast of America or the Far East habitually equipped their trading-vessels with plenty of guns and ammunition, and expected bloody encounters with savages, pirates, or the armed forces of the tribes with which they sought to trade; but they never had any difficulty in

procuring officers or crews for these vessels, which were expected to fight as well as meet the dangers of the seas.

Within about twenty years of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States the American people found themselves again at war with Great Britain, and again they showed themselves competent and ready to fight, though they fought better on the water than on the land.

Between 1815 and 1855 there was a long period during which bearing arms declined as a habit of the northern section of the American people; and simultaneously skill in the use of firearms in gunning and hunting also declined. So the Civil War opened with plenty of fighting spirit in the Northern States, but with a lack of fighting skill which it took the Northern troops a year or two to overcome. The Southern whites, because of the existence of slavery among them and their liking for shooting game as a sport and a means of livelihood, came better prepared than the Northerners to the early battles of the war. But before two years had elapsed the Northern troops had acquired as much skill as the Southern, and began to win success on hard-fought battlefields. Before the war ended, the combatants on the two sides fought with equal skill and spirit. The North prevailed, because it had more men and more military and industrial resources, and because it was fighting for Union and against slavery.

Before another generation had passed, the United States went to war again, this time with Spain and more in the interest of Cuba than in their own. Again the

fighting spirit of the American people promptly manifested itself on sea and land. The amount of fighting in and around Cuba was comparatively small, and was brought to an end by the generous offer on the part of the United States to send all the Spanish troops in Cuba home to Spain at the cost of the United States. The fighting, however, was much prolonged because the United States, having paid Spain twenty million dollars for the "sovereignty" (whatever that might mean) of the Philippine Islands, had to overcome by force the resistance of the Filipinos, or of a part of them, to the transfer. This fighting was of a kind and for an object highly displeasing to the American people as a whole; but it was persisted in till its object was attained.

What the fighting spirit of the American people was in the World War it is needless to describe. It grew hotter and hotter as the horrors of the prodigious combat increased, and was demonstrated in every field of war endeavor, in the trenches, in the open assault, in the provision of munitions and supplies, and in the hospitals. It appeared in the energetic action of the national and state governments, and in the efficient operations of the numerous patriotic voluntary associations that undertook to supply the physical and mental needs of the soldiers and sailors. Here was a nation which had never before had a real conscript army, had experienced no attack on its own territory for more than a hundred years, and had never before sent an armed force into Europe, suddenly undertaking to pour an immense force into France, and to feed and supply it there in the

amplest manner, and all for no material objects or selfish ends of its own, but only to bring help to other nations whose liberties and rights were attacked. The American youth who died in France were not fighting for endangered homes, or for their own freedom to live and work as they pleased. They fought and suffered and died for the advancement and security of public liberty under law, for the diffusion of comfort and security among all classes and conditions of men, and in defense of human welfare and happiness wherever threatened. They had no hesitation about using force to promote these ends, or any scruples about killing and wounding their opponents in order to attain them. Again the fighting spirit in the American people, a result of their three centuries of experience on the fresh American continent!

The Government of the United States has always maintained that it would not intervene forcibly in the domestic affairs of the Central and South American republics, and particularly of the Island republics in the Caribbean Sea. Nevertheless, both the preceding national Administration and the present have felt no difficulty in using the army and navy of the United States for armed intervention in the affairs of some of those republics; and neither of the two great political parties in the United States has thus far shown any disposition to make an issue with either Administration on this subject.

When the police force of Boston suddenly struck, and left the city for some hours at the mercy of hoodlums and criminals, there was an instant response from all

classes to the call of the Governor for volunteers to replace the strikers; and within a few weeks a carefully selected and well-equipped State Guard was organized to preserve order and protect property throughout the commonwealth. It then appeared that the fighting spirit in Massachusetts had in no way abated through disuse, or in consequence of the large additions — racially heterogeneous — which had been made to her population.

There can be no doubt that all the philanthropic and spiritual contributions the American people have made to civilization — and such are by far their most important contributions — have depended for support and diffusion on their willingness to suffer and fight for them. To these very experiences of suffering in fighting is due the characteristic American advocacy of neutral rights, arbitration, and peace.

When the Armistice was unexpectedly signed on November 11, 1918, the state of mind of the American soldiers in France underwent a sudden change. They all wanted to get home at once, and to resume their civil occupations; and many of them, but by no means all, avowed that they never meant to do any more fighting except in defense of their own country and people. Never again would they encounter the sufferings and hardships of the soldier's life, or run the risk of being killed or disabled, for the sake of any other people or nation, or in any way contribute to the enforcement of any treaties or alliances which might hereafter be made for the benefit of the Allies, of the nations which had

been neutral during the war, or of the new States which had been created or were to be created as results of the war. No more sacrifice of American lives or American savings should be made for the benefit of foreigners.

Shortly after the signing of the Armistice, some political leaders at Washington, made aware of this state of mind among the returning soldiers, began to talk about the secure isolation of the United States and the self-sufficiency of their resources, and to preach the dubious doctrines expressed in the phrases, "safety first" and "America first." These slogans are both capable of good uses; but these politicians used them in their selfish and ignoble significations. When the probable terms of the Treaty of Versailles became known, a formidable proportion of the members of the Senate gave notice that they should vote against the ratification of any treaty under which the American people might assume an obligation to enforce the decisions of the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations. Partisan politics had something to do with this demonstration in the Senate against the Treaty and the League of Nations which was incorporated with it; but there were members of the Senate who really believed that the conduct of the American people toward their late comrades in arms and toward the promotion of human welfare in general, political, economic, or social, might properly be thereafter determined solely by the commercial and financial interests of the American people, and not by any philanthropic or humanitarian emotions or sympathies. The platform of the Republican Party endorsed this de-

moralizing doctrine. This was an extraordinary departure from the moral principles which the whole experience of the American democracy had inculcated and the birth of the Republican Party had nobly illustrated.

In November 1920, the Republican Party returned to power, after an interval of eight years, with an overwhelming majority in both the Senate and the House and complete possession of the administrative organization. The new Administration believed that it had received from the people an emphatic mandate to prevent the United States from incurring any obligation to assist Europe, on either the political or the economic side, to recover from the desolation and chaos which resulted from the war, and particularly to keep the United States out of the League of Nations, because one article in that covenant contemplated the possible use of some international force to prevent outbreaks of war.

Accordingly, the United States have taken no direct official part in any of the international efforts to rescue Europe from its present deplorable condition, although they have sent unofficial observers, or lookers-on, to some of the conferences or meetings on means of rescue. The attitude of the American Government toward all these efforts has been cold and unsympathetic, and as a matter of fact the efforts of the other nations have been crippled by the abstention of the United States. The League of Nations has been well organized, and its membership having been much increased, it has done some effective work toward the reëstablishment of order in Europe and the prevention of sporadic fighting; but it

cannot accomplish the objects for which it was created until the United States take an active part in its work. Why does the American Government maintain this weak and ungenerous attitude? Because it believes that the American people have turned their backs on their history, including that of the five years from 1914 to 1919, and have decided that they will fight no more and suffer no more for other peoples or in the general cause of liberty, justice, and peace for mankind.

There is serious doubt whether any large part of the American people has suffered this moral collapse. In the Presidential election of 1920 some temporary motives took effect on considerable bodies of voters. Thus the German-Americans wished to express their disapprobation of the hatred of Germany which American fighting in Europe on the side of the Allies had engendered; and it seemed to them at the moment that their only way to express that feeling was to vote the Republican ticket. Again, the Irish-Americans, contrary to all precedent, voted the Republican ticket in many states and municipalities, because that seemed to them the best way at the moment to express their hatred for Great Britain and their desire to see the British Empire disrupted. Furthermore, in several states and large communities the management of the Democratic Party was so bad that it was difficult for a patriotic citizen to vote for any of the candidates that management nominated.

In the two years which have elapsed since the last Presidential election divisions have appeared within the Republican Party itself on such important matters as

the Bonus Bill, the Emergency Tariff Bill, the Permanent Tariff Bill, and the proper dealing by the government with the strikes which now threaten the comfort and security of the public and the business prosperity of the whole country. Clearly the American public is beginning to desire that their Government assume a vigorous and generous attitude both at home and abroad, an attitude determined not by cowardly selfishness or timid circumspection but by brave disinterestedness. It is highly significant that hundreds of college students and young graduates are at this moment attending at their own charges camps for military instruction and training in which the teachers are men who saw service in the late war. These youths propose to be ready to serve effectively when next their country summons them to fight; they do not like the present attitude of the American Government toward suffering humanity, and hope and expect that the American people will shortly return, at whatever risk, to their traditional policies in favor of arbitration in international disputes, the development of international law, the maintenance of an International Court with the usual sanctions for its decisions, and the abolition of war for expansion or conquest. These young men constitute an important element in the new voters. The ex-soldiers who rashly say that they will fight no more have no influence with them.

In the hope of making some contribution to the settlement of Europe and the prevention of war, while still keeping America out of European alliances and treaties, the American Government called and led the Washing-

ton Conference. In both the original and the revised agenda prepared by the Department of State, reduction of land forces appeared as one of the prime subjects for consideration at the Conference; but when France declared that she could not reduce her army effectively unless she were promised aid by Great Britain and the United States in case she were again attacked, the reduction of land forces was dropped incontinently by common consent. The United States would give no such promise. Now, it is impossible to restore Europe, either politically or economically, unless the burden of maintaining armies which withdraw all the able-bodied young men of each yearly class from productive industry for a long period — such as three years, two years, or even one year — can be lifted, and this great item of expenditure be removed from each national budget. For example, France cannot reëstablish a sound budget and acquire again a sound currency unless her expenditures on her army can be largely reduced. On the other hand, it is obvious that every nation in Europe, and in North and South America as well, must maintain a trained and disciplined military force which can be called upon at any moment by the national government to preserve order and prevent violence in any part of the country. How to train such a national force at low cost, and to keep it always efficient and on instant call, the Swiss Republic has shown the rest of the world; but this lesson can be accepted by the other European nations only when the United States will take the responsibility of urging it.

At the Washington Conference the American Secretary of State carried by great audacity and firmness a serious reduction in the cost of the navies of the leading naval powers; but the reduced navies are to be kept in prime fighting order with all the latest improvements in submarine and aërial activity. This is a gain for the budgets of the few naval powers which is well worth while, but has little effect on the bankrupt condition of the majority of the European Powers, and slight if any effect toward the abolition of war. The pacts made at Washington with regard to Pacific Ocean affairs and Far Eastern powers contained no provision for the enforcement of the agreements. If any nation violates or disregards them, the remedy is only more conference. At the Washington Conference the United States did not undertake to use its army or navy, or any part thereof, to enforce on land or sea the agreements into which they entered. The American people seem still to hold the position that they will make no more sacrifices for the promotion in the world of justice, liberty, and peace. How can any lover of his country believe that the American spirit has really sunk so far? How can anyone fail to see that no progress can be made toward the abolition of war until America becomes a full partner in that holy enterprise, and takes all its risks?

Nevertheless, the Washington Conference, in spite of its failure to promise the use of America's armed forces to support the decisions of the new International Court and of the Assembly and Council set up by the League of Nations, and in spite of its general inconclusiveness,

did make some gains toward the adoption of better means than militarism and war of settling international disputes. It stopped for a time the ruinous competitive building of navies. In the Four Power Treaty concerning Pacific Islands the United States agree to take part in the discussion of any failure to observe the treaty, although the matter to be discussed is no concern of theirs — a distinct step in advance. The abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance was a real gain toward peace in the Orient; and so was the consideration given by the Conference to the grave Chinese problems which were brought before it. For these accomplishments American patriots may be thankful, while they deeply regret that the Conference stopped so far short of the bold measures needed.

One excuse can be offered for the present reluctance of the American people to take their full share in international action. They have always objected to national action in general, not excepting national action in favor of education and the public health. State Rights seemed during the period of the Civil War and the years that immediately preceded and followed that war chiefly a doctrine held in the Southern States and based on the desire to resist the attack on slavery by the Northern States; but in reality the policy of State Rights commends itself in the Northern States on many local issues, and even on issues which are inevitably of national scope, like prohibition, tariff, quarantine, irrigation, conservation, and national parks. Some recent events have opened the mind of the people to the indispensableness

of national action against evils which take effect, or are liable to take effect, all over the country. It is no use to eradicate hookworm disease in spots. It must be exterminated on large areas, and then every recurrence must be detected and stopped by an authority which can operate at short notice wherever in a broad territory the disease may reappear. It was not until prohibition was ordered by a national enactment that a reduction of the monstrous evil of alcoholism became possible and its ultimate extermination probable. The separate States could not deal intelligently with the engineering problem of irrigation from streams that flowed through several states, or along their borders. The immigration problem could not be dealt with in any satisfactory way until the national government took control of it. The Weather Bureau must be supported by the national government. The late war taught emphatically that the State Militias must be converted into National Guards, and in wartime brought under the control and direction of the national military authorities. These vivid lessons have taught many Americans that the historical objection to national action requires modification to meet the new conditions of the Federal Union.

The proposals made by the present Administration with regard to subsidies are not only in the highest degree inexpedient with reference to national economics, but tend to postpone the recovery of the American people from their moral collapse in respect to international affairs. The American people and government went wisely into ship-building in hot haste, without

regard to cost, the moment they declared war on Germany in 1917, and showed much wisdom as well as energy in the prosecution of that work. They saw that with the developing power of the German submarine more vessels were indispensable means of prosecuting the war. It was martial zeal which impelled them to this extravagant expenditure; and many Americans were severely disappointed when the Armistice came before the real fruits of the heavy expenditures of our government on shipping had been exhibited on sea and land.

But what has happened in respect to expenditures on shipping during the five years since the Armistice was signed? We kept on spending many hundred millions of dollars a year on a navy and an American commercial marine for which we had no use, and which cannot be manned by Americans. The sailor's life has ceased to have attraction for intelligent young Americans. They wisely prefer employments on land that are comparatively free from the hardships and exposures the common sailor and stoker must endure, and do not involve prolonged absences from home and friends. So the American fleets, naval or commercial, cannot be manned by Americans or be made profitable to private owners, unless by the payment of large subsidies unjustly extorted from the mass of the taxpayers. Hence, legislative attempts to give American bottoms advantages over foreign bottoms in both exporting and importing goods, a policy which would be sure to breed international bitterness and strife, and to feed American selfishness rather than American disinterestedness.

Every American policy now should be generous as well as just.

What then should American patriots advocate and hope for in respect to American participation in international action to restore stable government to the countries of Europe, old or new, repair the losses in population, public health, means of transportation, and agricultural and manufacturing productiveness, and to efface as fast as possible the distrusts and hatreds which the war engendered? Our Government should enter heartily into the existing League of Nations, take a sympathetic share in every discussion broached in the League, and be ready to take more than its share in all the responsibilities which unanimous action of the nations constituting the League might impose. America should cease to keep out of the Paris Covenant, "the greatest step in recorded history in the betterment of international relations," as ex-President Taft said of it in March 1919, and give over completely every fear of being called upon to fight, no matter where, in support of the decisions of the League. That fear is now and always has been absolutely unworthy of the American people, false to its history, and even falser to its hopes.

The next American contribution to civilization should be full participation in the safe conduct of those world affairs through which the enlightened common interests of mankind are served, first, by joining heartily the League of Nations for the immediate salvation of Europe and the Near East, and then by advocating steadily for all the world Federalism, elastic and progressive Law,

coöperative management and discipline in machinery industries, the emancipation of children from fear, harsh domination, and premature labor, the furtherance of preventive medicine and public health, and the opening for everybody of the delightful and sustaining vision of freedom, aspiration, and hope.

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